

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1908

EDITORIAL

THE *Classical Review* in its new shape has now had a year's trial, and the editor hopes that it has recommended itself to readers. If we have not yet been able to carry out all the plans we had proposed, this is due partly to the difficulty of finding contributors ready to assist. We have however made a beginning in two directions: one being the publication of articles suited to interest a wider circle of readers, the other the discussion of educational method.

In the first class, we hope shortly to present one or two papers on the discoveries of the spade. It has been suggested that some of those engaged in school teaching may not have access to the books in which these discoveries are recorded, and that they may be glad to have descriptions of a more general character put before them. We still desire the help of contributors to explain the light thrown by ancient history on modern problems, which is a fruitful field that has never been properly worked.

In the second, we ask earnestly for contributions from any who may be considering the profession of teaching in its principles, and trying to devise either improvements in method, or new ways of meeting the needs of the time. Classical teaching in schools has become in the last generation as it were petrified: one good order may corrupt the world, if it be a good order; and what if it be not good? Nothing can be gained, and all may be lost, by refusing to examine the

grounds of our belief; on the other hand, the great revolution in modern language methods has been so rich in results, that it surely behoves us to consider whether we may learn anything from it. The *Classical Review* will welcome from teachers any records of experience or experiment, and any reasoned defence of what is questioned by the world.

It is proposed further, from time to time to publish papers on the state of classical study in other countries. What is called the modern spirit has already struck at the root of these in France, and the near future cannot but be instructive. The same would certainly have happened in Germany, but for the efforts of Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and Dr. Reinhardt, supported by the valuable work of the Prussian Reform-Gymnasien. These Gymnasien show the only systematic attempt at reform in classical teaching that has yet been carried out in such a way as to be available as evidence. An admirable account of this work is given by Mr. J. L. Paton in one of the Board of Education's Special Reports.

The editor will be grateful for any suggestion from schools as to their peculiar needs; and he hopes immediately to carry out one that has been made by publishing versions and translations which may be useful to them. He appeals once more to any enthusiasts there may be, for their help in fighting the indifference that is our great weakness.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

PAST EXCAVATIONS AT HERCULANEUM.¹

DURING the last year projects have been discussed in the Italian papers for further excavations at Herculaneum, nearly the whole of which city still lies buried beneath the adjacent towns of Portici and Resina.

It may be interesting at this moment to give a brief account of previous excavations, and of the unequalled treasures of art which they reveal.

At the eruption of A.D. 79, Herculaneum was overwhelmed by a torrent of liquid mud. Subsequent eruptions, of which the distinct strata are visible, have buried the city to a depth varying from 60 to 100 feet beneath a solidified mass, which frequently is as compact as marble.

Excavations, which have been carried on intermittently from 1709 to 1876, have brought to light a theatre, a basilica and two curiae, two temples, a large country villa, an area of 300 by 150 perches at Resina with houses and streets; and, probably marking the limits of the city, two sepulchres. The confusion in the records renders it probable that other temples and a forum mentioned are only rediscoveries of a portion of buildings which had been reburied after excavation. We are led to conclude that Herculaneum was a long narrow city of medium size, built with its major axis parallel to the sea, and with its streets at right angles to each other. On its history, as a Greek colony, and then as a Roman colony, we cannot dwell here.

Since we are able to explore about three-fourths of the ancient city of Pompeii, Herculaneum has not contributed much that is new to our knowledge of the architecture of the period. The works of art, however, which have been found, far surpass, in quality and quantity, anything found at Pompeii. The majority of the works are in

the National Museum at Naples. The number of bronze statues found is stated to be 128, of marble statues 24. There are in addition nearly a hundred busts, and a large number of statuettes, vases, tripods, and candelabra of graceful form, with the designs that were the inspiration of the Renaissance.

Excavations were carried on by means of low narrow tunnels, on each side of which small areas were dug out, to prevent the rock collapsing. Under these circumstances any accurate knowledge of the plan of the buildings is difficult to obtain. Further, excavations at first were carried on solely with a view to extricating works of art. Walls of buildings were ruthlessly pierced and stripped of marbles and frescoes; statues were removed, and all knowledge of their locality was lost: they were then freely 'restored.' Even at a period when the engineers in charge made notes and plans of the discoveries, these were carelessly kept, and many have been lost. Moreover, the only part of Herculaneum which has not been reburied is a portion of the theatre, and the houses at Resina.

In 1709 and 1713 the prince d'Elbœuf, general of the Austrian army, after sinking a shaft at Portici, came upon the back of a building, afterwards identified as the theatre of Herculaneum. Of the statues and precious marbles extracted, several went out of the country.

Excavations were resumed in the theatre in October 1738 and carried on till 1776, with intermissions, by engineers appointed by Charles III of Spain. First a portion of the outer wall was discovered, then a staircase and portions of the *cavea*, consisting of twenty-one tiers of seats, the upper three being divided by a corridor from the lower eighteen. Round the top of the seats ran a corridor with marble-covered pedestals for columns, suggesting that this corridor was a covered way. In 1742 to 1751 a small portion of the *orchestra* was discovered,

¹ This article (without the Bibliography) has already appeared in the *Burlington Magazine*, and is reproduced by the kind permission of the Editor.

paved with thick slabs of *giallo antico*, and the front of the *pulpitum*. From 1762 to 1765 the *scena*, portions of the *cavea*, and the outer wall were explored.

The theatre was built of brick and tufa stuccoed, and encrusted, within and without, with precious marbles. The outside was adorned with arches borne on pilasters; a marble cornice ran round it, and traces of colour were found. The seats and stairs were of lava. We have two printed plans left us out of some twenty made at the time. In general plan the building is not unlike other theatres known to us, and in the proportions of the *orchestra* and *proscenium* it is rather of the Roman than the Greek style. The theatre was of medium size, the total diameter measuring 177 feet, the diameter of the *orchestra* 29 feet.¹

It was richly adorned with statues in marble and bronze, which not only stood in niches outside and inside, but also crowned the outer wall, and stood on the wall surmounting the *cavea*, and adorned the columned portico at the back of the theatre and the various entrances. The force of the mud torrent overthrew and shattered the majority. We have remaining to us three marble statues wearing the toga, some half-dozen bronze statues of emperors and citizens, and some beautiful female figures, draped, many of them being portraits of the ladies of the household of M. Nonius Balbus.² We have fragments of a superb gilt bronze chariot and horses, and half a dozen inscriptions.

After a descent of a hundred steps, and much groping along low-vaulted, damp, cold corridors by the glare of the torch-light, we can see all that has been excavated. Only a few fragments of white marble, a delicately sculptured piece of frieze, the acanthus leaves of some pilaster, stained green with the damp, still cling to the naked walls; and the section of the tiers of seats, the portion of the *scena*, the *orchestra* entrance, all give the impression of being hewn out of the rock.

About 600 feet S.W. of the theatre is the basilica, which measures 228 by 132 feet.

¹ The theatre at Ephesus has a diameter of 495 feet; the large theatre at Pompeii, 202 feet.

² Three of these statues are in Dresden Museum.

It was discovered in 1762. It is surrounded by a wall with forty-two engaged columns in all, and inside, and parallel, another row of columns, the two supporting the roof of a covered portico. The floor of the basilica is two feet lower than this raised walk. Along the shorter end are five entrances, adorned with pilasters, on the arch of which stood five equestrian statues, of which two only remain to us, the statues of M. Nonius Balbus, father and son.

At the opposite end is a recess, where stood three marble statues: one of Vespasian in the middle, and two headless figures, seated in curule chairs on each side; both are of great beauty. The two niches at each side of the recess were adorned with frescoes, *Hercules with Telephus suckled by the Hind* and *Theseus Victor over the Minotaur*, and contained two beautiful bronze statues, nine feet high, of Nero and Germanicus.

At each side of the portico entrance stood great pedestals for statues, and on the half-columns, between the engaged columns of the wall, stood alternately a bronze and a marble statue. These have mostly perished. Many inscriptions were also found here. The outside was covered in marble. The columns were of brick, covered with stucco. The interior was painted in fresco; most of this is now in Naples Museum.

Quite near the basilica were two small buildings identified as *curiae*³ or as temples. Let into the marble-lined inner walls of these *curiae* were bronze inscriptions with the names of the magistrates of the city.

In June 1750 excavations were begun in the west end of the garden of the 'House of Papyri,' and were carried on to the year 1762. The 'House of the Papyri' is a magnificent country villa of the late Republican period. The main axis lies parallel to the sea. The general plan is similar to that of houses of the same period in Pompeii, though on a larger scale, and with certain additions. We have the *atrium*, *alae*, *peristyle*, and *tablinum*. There is a second peristyle to the right of the *atrium*, and rooms beyond this. There is an unusually large garden, measuring 310 feet by

³ Jorio, 'Notizie sugli scavi di Ercolano' (Naples, 1827).

104 feet, extending to the left of the villa with a circular *exhedra* at the end, which had a beautiful marble floor. In the garden was a great pond, measuring 219 feet, by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Many of the floors in the villa were of coloured marbles or of mosaic. The fluted columns of the peristyle were of stuccoed brick. The water supply, judging by the many lead pipes and innumerable fountains, must have been abundant.

House and garden were adorned with statues and busts. There were thirty bronze busts, sixteen bronze statues, fifteen marble busts and seven marble statues.

Among these are some of the loveliest bronzes in Europe, including the *Mercury in Repose*, *The Discoboli*, *The Drunken Faun*, and five fine Doric figures generally known as the *The Dancers*. Of the busts, some are lovely ideal heads, some realistic portraits. Here also were discovered the rolls of papyri from which the villa takes its name. The greatest number were found in the room known as the library. This room was floored with marble, contained four inscribed busts, of Epicurus, Hermarchus, Zeno, and Demosthenes, and many cases in inlaid wood for papyri. The rolls resembled lumps of charcoal, and many were thrown away as such. When some characters were observed on one of them, these carbonized rolls were discovered to be papyri. A monk, Father Piaggio, invented a machine for unrolling them, and for some 120 years scholars were busy in the work of deciphering and editing. Some original rolls opened and unopened, exist in the Bodleian and in the British Museum. The results of so much labour are a little disappointing. Three-fourths of the library consist of the works of a third-rate Epicurean philosopher, Philodemus of Gadara. His pupil, and later his patron for thirty years, was Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter married Julius Caesar. It is mainly on the evidence of the relations between these men¹ that Piso has been identified as the owner of the villa and the house has frequently been called 'the Villa of the Pisos.' The evidence, however, does not seem quite conclusive.

In 1750 a building resembling a colum-

¹ Cicero, 'In Pisonem' and elsewhere.

barium, such as we see in Rome, was found toward the S.E. It was a vaulted room, entered by a staircase containing eight niches with the cinerary vases in their place. It belonged to the Nonia family, and was six feet long.

In 1757, towards the S.W. of the basilica, a temple was discovered with a marble inscription, stating that it was restored by Vespasian to the Mother of the Gods. The vault was painted with stars on a white ground. The *cella* measured over fifty-one feet in length. In 1759 a second temple was discovered quite near. Some beautiful bronze tripods, censers, and candelabra were found here.

The houses and streets which were excavated at Resina (1828-1837) were only thirty-six feet beneath the surface. All the streets are narrow, except one, which measures sixteen feet across, and is paved with blocks of lava. Of the houses little remains but naked walls. The general plan resembles that of the houses at Pompeii. The floors were of coarse mosaic. The walls were nearly all painted in fresco, consisting usually of tiny medallions and friezes of cupids, beasts, birds, and flowers painted on a large monochrome panel, which was generally of the well-known 'Pompeian' red, or a beautiful glazed black.

In the well-known 'House of Argus' were found busts of Diana and Apollo and some frescoes. Out of some 400 frescoes in Herculaneum, now in Naples Museum, only a dozen are life-size pictures, and these come from public buildings.

The importance of the Herculaneum discoveries lies in the character and condition of the antique bronzes. Compared with some of these, the *Marcus Aurelius* of the Capitol is modern, the *Boxer* in the Baths of Diocletian a piece of brutal realism of a late period of Greek art, the exquisite bronzes of the Etruscan Museum in Florence mere fragments. We have nothing really comparable with them except the bronze horses of St. Mark's at Venice.

Perhaps the most striking of these bronzes, in some respects, are the five *Actresses* or *Dancers* which were found in the southern portico of the garden of the House of the

Papyri. They are certainly Greek, and possibly originals. The pose and balance of the figures are graceful; the Doric robes fall in straight, stiff folds, yet reveal the curves and lines of the form beneath: the variety and realism in the treatment of the hair are admirable, and if the enamel eyes that have been inserted scarcely add to the beauty they certainly enhance the life-like effect of the fine, stately figures. For sheer beauty, the so-called *Head of Dionysus* or *Head of Plato* is unsurpassed. The expressive head might well be that of the greatest of the pre-Christian mystics, or of Dionysus, pondering over the mysteries known to the initiate, and revealed under the fierce symbolism of the Bacchic revels. The treatment of the beard and the abundant hair that seems to resist the gentle pressure of the broad fillet that binds it, the modelling of the cheek and brow and the delicate curves of the lips are a revelation in the art of bronze working.

Passing over many life-like portrait-busts, we come to a series of 'ideal heads,' and under this category might well come several busts to which names have been applied without any foundation. They are all Greek in type; they are all of ideal beauty; they are all different in technique—in the treatment of the hair, in the proportions of the face. They are all different in type—including the effeminate, oriental beauty of the so-called *Ptolemy Soter*, the inexpressive loveliness of the slightly heavy-jawed, low-browed, wide-eyed youth, the *Doryphorus*, and the *Archaic Apollo*, whose significance almost makes us forget its beauty. The head, with its brooding eyes, with its extraordinary vitality expressed even in the wild locks that cluster about the neck, seems the one perfect expression of the sun god, of the god of swift death, of the god who inspired the raving priestess on her tripod. This head was found in the garden of the House of the Papyri, which possibly belonged to Lucius Calpurnius Piso. On the coins of the Calpurnian family appears a devitalized and conventionalized version of this head.

The marbles discovered in Herculaneum do not possess the unique interest of the bronzes. The two equestrian statues of

Balbus, father and son, are interesting because, with the exception of the *Marcus Aurelius*, such statues are almost unknown till we come to the days of Donatello's great statue in Padua.

Such discoveries in the past awaken keen anticipation as to the results of future excavations. The zeal and enterprise of the Italian Government render it possible that immediate excavations may be undertaken in Italy, and that Herculaneum is to be the spot selected. What treasures might not a second 'villa' yield? In her buried ruins Italy holds the history of the ancient world: she was the inspiration of the middle ages: she was the foster-mother of the Renaissance; and in this twentieth century all Europe is ready to sympathize with her in her arduous enterprise, which may reveal fresh visions of beauty—may add, as it were, a few more letters to those unwritten words that shall spell for us some more of the secrets of history and archaeology. Such discoveries belong to no nation, and no time.

E. R. BARKER.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AUTHORITIES ON HERCULANEUM.

I.—CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

A.—Covering the whole period

1. Michele Ruggiero,¹ *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano ricomposta sui documenti superstiti*, Naples, 1885.

(Most of the original sketches and plans are published in this book, together with a brief introduction.)

2. The Reports of the *Reale Accademia Ercolanese* containing reproductions of the bronzes and frescoes found: published by Bayardi in *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte* in nine volumes: 1757-1792.

3. Bayardi, *Catalogo degli Antichi Monumenti*, Naples, 1755.

(This is the foundation for all other catalogues. It is arranged without classification, and there are few indications of place and date.)

4. In the *Museo Nazionale* are some hundred unpublished plates, containing reproductions of the marbles among other things. Nothing is published here that did not come from the Museum at Portici.

5. Three volumes of *Records* for 1753-1804.

¹ Sometime Director of the Excavations.

B.—For Special Periods.

1738-1741.

1. The reports of Alcubierre made for Charles III. (These are inadequate and confused.)

1741-1749.

2. We have only a few notices of Members of the Academy for 1744, and by Bardet for 1745.

3. Fiorelli made several copies of reports, including reports for the years 1748 and 1749, for which we have no original documents.

4. Marcello di Venuti, *Descrizione delle prime Scoperte dell' antica città di Ercolano*, Rome, 1748.

5. A. F. Gori, *Symbolae litterariae*, Florence and Rome, 1748-1754.

(Containing *Admiranda antiquitatum Herculaneum.*)

6. *Notizie del memorabile scoprimento dell' antica città di Ercolano*, Florence, 1748.

(Letters by various authors dated 1738-1748.)

7. Darthenay, *Mémoire sur la Ville Souterraine*, Paris, 1748.

(A brief and excellent little account.)

8. Cochin et Bellicard, *Observations sur les Antiquités d'Herculanum*, Paris, 1754.)

(The English translation, with additional plates, is wrongly dated 1753.)

1750-1764.

1. Weber's Reports made for Alcubierre which cover nearly the entire period, and some remnants of a private register covering a small portion of the period.

2. Alcubierre's reports for a portion of this period.

3. Paderni's Reports made for the Minister Tanucci entitled *Nota di Metalli ed altre cose antiche che si trovano nei Reali Scavamenti* dal 1756-1780.

4. Preceding this was another volume. Of this we have a small portion for October, 1752-August, 1753, entitled *Prima Nota consegnata a Sua Maestà*.

5. Paderni was in frequent correspondence with English travellers. This correspondence is found in *Philosophical Transactions*, London. Vols. 48, 49, 50, i.e., for the years 1752-1753.

6. Reports of Giuseppe di Corcoles.

(Covering a short period only.)

7. Two catalogues of La Vega of the bronzes and sculpture found 1750-1765.

(Incomplete and copied from Weber.)

1764-1780.

Reports of Corcoles, of Paderni, of Alcubierre, of Canart, of La Vega.

1828-1861.

Reports of Carlo Bonucci.

1861-1871.

Reports of Giuseppe Fiorelli, and Pagano.

1871-1884.

Reports of Galella.

Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei, pubblicato da Giuseppe Fiorelli, 1861-1865.

(It contains a reprint in Vol. 8 of some unedited

manuscripts by La Vega, in the *Archivio del Museo Nazionale*.)

Much of this publication was suppressed by the Government.

Rosini, *Dissertationis Isagogicae*.

(Published by the Academy in 1797.)

II.—LATER AUTHORITIES.

A.—Bibliography.

1. Furcheim, *Bibliografia di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia*, Naples, 1891.

(Every work on the subject, including the most worthless, arranged in alphabetical order.)

2. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, London, 1904.

(The Bibliography contains some useful information.)

3. *Indice Generale dei Lavori pubblicati dal 1757 al 1902*, published by R. Accademia di Archeologia, lettere e belle Arti e R. Accademia Ercolanese, Naples, 1903.

(A complete bibliography of the publications of the Society from 1757-1902 arranged under the names of the authors and also of the subjects.)

4. Castaldi, *Della R. Accademia Ercolanese*, Naples, 1840.

(An account of the Academy at Naples.)

5. Ettore Garbici,¹ *Bibliografia Ercolanese*, in *Bollettino d' Arte*, Rome, 1907. Fasc. VII.

B.—General Work.

1. Domenico Comparetti e Giulio de Petra: *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni, i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca*, Turin, 1883.

(An invaluable account of the Villa of the Papyri, with plates, catalogue, and the original authorities for the period.)

2. De Jorio, *Notizie sugli Scavi di Ercolano*, Naples, 1827.

3. Piranesi, *Teatro di Ercolano*, Paris, 1836.

(Excellent plans, elevations, and restorations.)

4. F. Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompei* (continued by Gau. Excellent plans and restorations of the Theatre of Herculaneum. Paris, 1824-38).

5. Sir William Drummond and Robert Walpole, *Herculanesia*, London, 1810.

6. Beloch, *Campanien*, Berlin, 1879.

(Excellent general account of Herculaneum.)

7. Breton, *Pompeia décrite . . . suivie d'une Notice sur Herculaneum*, Paris, 1869.

(Useful for the nineteenth century excavations.)

8. Auguste Mau (translated by Kelsey), *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, London, 1904.

(There is a good deal that bears on Herculaneum.)

9. Gaston Boissier, *Promenades Archéologiques*. Essay on Pompeii, Paris, 1887.

(Useful general idea of the period and its artistic products.)

10. Carlo Bonucci, *Ercolano*, Naples, 1885.

C.—On the History and the Eruption.

1. Furcheim, *Bibliografia del Vesuvio*, Naples, 1897.

2. Michele Ruggiero, *Della eruzione del Vesuvio*

¹ My own bibliography was completed before this appeared.

nell'anno 79, published in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell'anno 79*, Naples, 1879.

3. Beulé, *Le Drame du Vesuve*, Paris, 1872.

(For the eruption and description of life in the Campania.)

D.—Sculptures and Frescoes.

1. Inventories and Catalogues of the Naples Museum based on Bayardi's. Compiled in 1820, 1849, 1870, 1906.

2. In Furchheim's *Bibliografia* is a complete list of books, dealing with the entire collection at Naples Museum.

(Some of these have beautiful engravings, but the letterpress is usually worthless.)

3. Reproductions of Works of Art found at Herculaneum have been published with letterpress in various languages by Piroli & Piranesi (1804-6) *Martyn and Lettice* (1773), *Barré and Roux* (1851), *Wilhelm Zahn* (with coloured plates) in *Die Schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus . . . Herculaneum . . .* Berlin, 1827-1859.

And in *Reale Museo Borbonico* (1824-1857).

(Those of later date supplement the publication by the Real. Ac. Ercol.) There are some fine drawings of the Frescoes in W. Ternite, *Wandgemälde von Pompei und Herculaneum*, 1839.

4. Winckelmann, *Recueil de Lettres sur les découvertes faites à Herculaneum*. 1784. Paris.

(Translated from the German of 1764.)

And several other works by the same author.

5. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*, Leipsic, 1873.

—, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipsic, 1868.

6. Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompei*, Berlin 1882.

7. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, translated by Mrs. Arthur Strong, London, 1901.

(For Pompeian wall paintings.)

8. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (translated by Eugénie Sellers), London, 1895.

(Many of the Herculaneum sculptures are noticed in this book.)

9. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, Paris, 1897.

10. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, Paris, 1880.

(Good reproductions of many of the Herculaneum sculptures, with letterpress by various authors.)

11. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, Munich, 1901.

(With bibliography: for the identification of the busts.)

12. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1882-1894.

(For the identification of the busts.)

13. Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*.

—, *Iconographie Romaine*. Paris, 1808-1829.

(Also Braun and Arndt, Brunn, Baumeister, etc.)

F.—Inscriptions.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Volume X. Pt. I. pp. 156-170. Edited by Mommsen. Berlin, 1883.

G.—Periodical Publications.

There are a number of excellent monographs scattered among the publications of the various learned societies. They chiefly deal with the sculpture. The most important publications in which these monographs occur are:—

1. *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, 1878.

2. *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876, 1880.

3. *Bullettino dell' Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 1876, 1881. Rome 1829-1885.

4. *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung*, for 1888, 1891, and 1894, 1889, 1895, 1898, 1900, 1902. (Berlin, Rome, 1886: in progress. Referred to as *Ist. Arch. Germ.*)

5. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. (Rome, 1885, in progress. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10.)

6. *Tribuna* of Rome: various articles by Prof. Dall' Osso, 1907.

7. *Nuova Antologia*: articles by Prof. Dall' Osso.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HERCULANEUM PAPYRI.

1. *Relazione sui Papiri Ercolanese* by Prof. Domenico Comparetti, being a paper read in 1878 before the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*: published in 1883 in *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*, by D. Comparetti and Giulio de Petra.

(Followed by a catalogue of all the papyri unpublished at that date.)

2. A complete catalogue with notes as to size, condition, etc. of the 1806 rolls and fragments, by Dr. Emilio Martini, 1882.

Printed in *La Villa Ercolanese*.

3. *Herculaneusium Voluminum quae supersunt: Collectio Prior*, 1793-1850, nine volumes.

4. *Herculaneusium Voluminum quae supersunt: Collectio Altera*, 1862-1876, eleven volumes.

5. *Herculaneusium Voluminum Pars Prima and Pars Secunda*, 1824-1825, Clarendon Press: being a catalogue of the Oxford Papyri, together with a fac-simile of seven which appeared subsequently in the *Collectio Prior* and the *Collectio Altera*.

6. *Fragmenta Herculaneisia* by Walter Scott, 1885: being a descriptive catalogue of the Oxford copies of the rolls, the text of three hitherto unpublished papyri, and an invaluable historical introduction.

7. *Herculaneum Fragments*, 1891: being printed from Hayter's fac-similes in the Bodleian. It contains 36 plates of engravings of texts and alphabets.

8. *Herculaneum Fragments*, 1889: in nine volumes, being photographs of the Oxford fac-similes unpublished at that date. There are photographs of 82 papyri, and the volumes contain 827 pages.

9. A *Report upon the Herculaneum Manuscripts* in a letter of 1800 and in a second letter to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, by the Rev. John Hayter, London, 1811.

10. *Philodemi Epicurei de Ira Liber*, Theodor Gomperz, Leipsic, 1864, and other works edited by various scholars.

11. *Herkulanische Studien*, Theodor Gomperz, Leipsic, 1865.

12. *Officina de' Papiri Descritta*, by A. de Jorio, 1825.

(An excellent general account of the finding of the papyri, their condition, the method of opening them, illustrated.)

13. *Notice sur les Manuscrits Trouvés à Herculanum*, J. Boot, Amsterdam, 1841. (Similar to De Jorio's book.)

14. Letters of *Camillo Paderni*, keeper of the Museum at Portici to various correspondents, translated and published in *Philosophical Transactions*, 1753-1754.

15. *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xlviii, 1828, p. 348.

16. *Philosophical Transactions*, 1821 (for Sir Humphrey Davy's Paper).

THE PLANS.

The Theatre.

Of the Theatre we have records of twenty plans and drawings, of which most have been lost.

Two only of these have been engraved on copper plate.

The most interesting is Weber's plan, dated 1747, published in the *Bulletino Archeologico Napolitano*, by Minervini, in 1861 (May) and reproduced by Ruggiero, Tav. iv.

This plan gives the original subterranean ways made by the Prince d'Elboeuf in 1713.

A second plan by Weber of 1751 gives the reconstruction of the Theatre (Ruggiero, Tav. iii.)

A third plan correcting some of the inaccuracies of Weber's plan is given by Ruggiero himself from measurements on the spot. (Ruggiero, Tav. iv.)

Basilica, Temples, and Columbarium.

For the Basilica and Columbarium we have the

drawings of Cochin and Bellicard. (Ruggiero, Tav. viii.) Cochin also gives a plan of the two Temples opposite the Basilica. Ruggiero, in his reproduction, reverses the position of the two.

The Houses.

For the houses at Resina, the plans of Bonucci (Ruggiero, Tav. xii.)

General Plans.

For the general plan of the city we have *La Vega's* plan, reproduced in Ruggiero, Tav. ii. This is not the work of a single man, but the sum of the work of past engineers.

A useful plan of the modern district was made under the direction of La Vega (Ruggiero, Tav. i.)

Weber gives a plan (printed in Ruggiero) of the Temple of the Mother of the Gods.

The House of the Papyri.

For the house of the Papyri we have the two original plans which were at first kept in the *Grande Archivio di Stato*: of these the chief is Carlo Weber's Plan. On this are marked the tunnels made in the excavation, the more important pillars to support the superincumbent mass, and the precise position of the statues excavated, and an indication of the nature of the floors (mosaic or marble).

It was begun in July 1750: in 1758 it was abandoned, but the position of the statues is only marked up to the year 1754; about half the total number of statues are marked in Weber's plan. He also accompanied his map with explanatory notes. The map is reproduced in Comparetti's monograph, who has added in red the position of the remaining statues from other rough plans, and documentary evidence.

E. R. BARKER.

ON THE PAEANS OF PINDAR.

(Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, PART V, PP. 24-81.)

i 1 ὀδυνηρά.

It would be more prudent to write ὀδυναρά here than to change, as the editors do, the Doric γινώσκομαι into the Attic γινώσκειν at iv 22 and 23.

i 7 [...] ιππον ἄστν Θήβας.

The editors supply [φίλ]ιππον; but the transcript shows a gap of four letters, so the epithet was more probably [πλάξ]ιππον or [λεύκ]ιππον: see Ol. vi 85 πλάξιππον ἂ Θήβαν ἔτικτεν (so Hes. scut. 24 Βοιωτοὶ πλῆξιπποι) and Pyth. ix 83 λευκίπποισι Καδμείων . . . ἀγναιῆς.

ii 97 [Πάνδο]ν ἄν' εὐδομον.

So the editors; but εὐδομος would be a strange epithet for Pindus, and there does

not seem to be room for so many letters: the gaps before the next eight lines are of the same dimensions, and their contents are either four letters or three, 98 νασσ or νασ, 29 ελι or καλυ, and so on. [Δᾶλο]ν therefore is more likely (Callim. hymn. iv 300 Ἀστερίη θύεσσα); but this clause, like the next, may refer to Delphi, and then [ναδ]ν would be suitable (Ol. vii 32 εὐώδης ἐξ Ἀδύτου, Callim. epigr. 53 4 εὐώδης . . . νηός).

iv 32-36

τὸ δὲ οἰκοθεν ἄστν κα[ῖ] ἄλικες]
καὶ συγγένει' ἀνδρὶ φ[ίλ]ῳ ὥστε καὶ]
στέρξει· ματ[αί]ων δὲ [μάκαρ ἀνδρῶν]
ἐκὰς ἔοντων λόγῳ[ν] ἄν[α]κτος Εὐξαν[τίου]
ἐπαίνεσα

The editors' supplements in the first two verses are evidently uncertain, but I have nothing better to offer: the next sentence they translate 'in happiness remote from foolish men I praise the words of lord Euxantius.' The speaker's seclusion from human folly has no bearing on the context; and the editors, to procure this sense, have abolished a stop which stands in the papyrus after *ἐόντων*. Pindar is preaching from the text *there's no place like home*, and he praises Melampus and Euxantius, who would not quit their native soil for a throne in Argos or in Crete. He wrote therefore something of this sort:

ματαίων δ' ἔ[πλετ' ἔρωσ τῶν]
ἐκὰς ἐόντων.

The construction of *ματαίων* is like Eur. Bacch. 400 sq. *μαιομένων οἶδε τρόποι καὶ κακοβούλων παρ' ἔμοιγε φωτῶν*: the sense resembles Pyth. iii 20 sqq. *ἦ ρα το τῶν ἀπεόντων· οἳ καὶ πολλοὶ πάθον· | ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον, | ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω. φύλον* here might suggest *ματαίων δ' ἔ[θνος ἐρᾶ]*, but Pindar would have said *ἐραται*.

Now comes the *λόγος*, which should be written thus:

d λόγον ἄνακτος Εὐξαντίου 35
e ἐπαίνεσα, [Κρητ]ῶν μαιομένων ὃς ἀνάνετο
f αὐταρχεῖν, πολίων δ' ἑκατὸν πεδέχει
g μέρος ἔβδομον Πασιφάας <σὺν> νι-
h οῖσι· τέρας δ' ἐόν εἰ-
i πέν σφι· τρέω τοι πόλεμον 40
j Διὸς Ἑννοσίδαν τε βαρύκτυπον,
a χθόνα τοί ποτε καὶ στρατὸν ἀθρόον
b πέμψαν κεραυνῷ τριόδοντί τε
c ἐς τὸν βαθὺν Τάρταρον, ἐμὰν μα-
d τέρα λιπόντες καὶ ὄλον οἶκον εὐερέα. 45
e ἔπειτα πλοῦτον πειρῶν μακάρων τ' ἐπιχώριον
f τεθμὸν πάμπαν ἐρῆμον ἀπωσάμενος
g μέγαν ἄλλοθι κλᾶρον ἔχω; λίαν
h μοι [δέο]ς ἔμπεδον εἶ-
i η κεν 50

Here the editors have restored *ἀνα[ίνετο]* in 36 and a letter or two elsewhere: the supplements between brackets in 36, 38, 49, are my own.

In 36 they supply *ἐπαίνεσ*, *ἀ[λί]κων*, which neither suits the sense nor fills the lacuna nor corresponds to the metre of 46. In my

reading the short final vowel is lengthened by position as in 48 *ἄλλοθι κλᾶρον*, vi 89 *Πολιάδι πρό, 92 δὲ χρυσέους*, 135 *ἀπὸ προθύρων*, ix 37 *τε φρενός*. I do not know what the editors mean when they say at ii 67 *εὐαγορί-αισι(ν) φλέγει* that 'the final *ν* is necessary for the metre': Pindar may have preferred to add it, but that is another matter.

Their dealings with 39 and 49 have a curious interest as showing how much harm it is possible to do by a little alteration. They have only added one letter and subtracted another, writing *νίοσιν* for *νίοσι* and [πῶ]ς for [. . .]ς, yet they have twice corrupted the metre and once destroyed the sense. My *σὺν* in 38, though metrically indispensable, is grammatically superfluous; but the same pleonasm occurs in Soph. El. 1168 *ξὺν σοὶ μετέχον τῶν ἰσων*. *σὺν* (between *σ* and *ν*) would more easily be lost than *ἄμ*.

τέρας ἐόν in 39 means 'his own miraculous experience', the earthquake in Ceos and the escape of his mother's house, which was not a *πάγκοινον τέρας* like the eclipse of the sun in ix 10. So viii 33 sq. *εἶπε . . . τέρας ὑπναλέον*, 'told her wondrous dream.'

The next four lines, 50-53, are preserved, if you can call it 'preservation, in Plut. de exil. c. 9 (frag. 154) as follows: *ελαφρὰν κυπάρισσον φιλέειν εἰάν δὲ νομὸν Κρήτας περιδαίων· ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ δέδοται, ὅθεν ἄδρυσ, πενθέων δ' οὐκ ἔλαχον οὐδὲ στασίων*. The first two appear in the papyrus, securely established by antistrophic correspondence, under this very different aspect:

i εἶα, φρὴν, κυπάρισσ- 50
j σον, εἶα δὲ νομὸν περιδαίον.

Of the next two nothing is left but what seems to be a marginal note containing the remains of *δέδοται* (with *θα-* or *θω-* following) and of *λάχον* (with *θ* over *χ*). But here begins an epode; and at 21 sqq. we possess another epode beginning thus:

ἦ τοι καὶ ἐγὼ σ[κόπ]ελον ναίων δια[
γινώσκομαι μὲν ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων
Ἑλλανίσιν, γινώσκομαι δὲ καὶ
μοῖσαν παρέχων ἄλις·

so that the scheme of metre is no longer quite unknown to us. Looking down from

this post of vantage we can see that our predecessors put far too much trust in the MS tradition, which was more corrupt than anyone ventured to suspect. The editors take occasion to remark that 'the passage affords a good illustration of the precariousness of the attempt to emend lyrics where the metre is uncertain.' What it really illustrates is the precariousness, in such a case, of attempting either to emend lyrics or to interpret them: *ελαφράν* and *φιλέω*, though mere figments of the scribes, have been gravely explained by commentators. But this latter lesson is one which the editors, like true Britons, are not anxious to inculcate. Error as error provokes no dislike; it only becomes unwelcome when it takes the form of conjecture. Still, truisms, and even the pleasant halves of truisms, have at any rate the merit of being true; and the little homily, so far as it runs, is sound and sensible: the attempt to emend lyrics without knowing their metre is undeniably precarious, almost as precarious as the attempt (not infrequently made) to emend prose. Yet the editors engage in it: instead of practising what they preach, they attempt to emend this lyric, whose metre is still uncertain. They write

ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται, θάμνος δρυός· 52
οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον, οὐ στασίων

and the correction of the second verse is excellent: if ever it were copied into a prose work it was predestined to assume the form it now wears in Plutarch. But how did the editors ascertain the length of the first verse? In the corresponding verse 21 the papyrus breaks off after *δια*, and it must not be assumed that the missing piece was blank: everything points the other way. *διαγινώσκουμαι* is less natural and appropriate than the simple verb; the anaphora is spoilt by the preposition; *σκόπελον* would be all the better for an epithet; and lastly the text of the corresponding verse is *ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ δέδοται ὅθεν ἄδρυσ*. In short the *δια* of 21 is probably the residue of an adjective: what that adjective was we cannot tell; and consequently the attempt to emend 52 is precarious. It ought I think to be left in this form,

ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται μὲν γὰρ, ὅθεν ἄδρυσ

for it will then tally with 21 as far as 21 reaches: the scribes of Plutarch were sure to rearrange the words in their natural order, *ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ δέδοται*, just as they rearranged the words of 53. As for the end of the line, *διὰ[σamon]* in 21 would make the two verses equal, but *ὅθεν ἄδρυσ* still remains a mystery.

Another mystery to me is the *νομὸν περιδαῖον* of 51; but this too the editors have solved to their own satisfaction: they translate it 'the pastures of Ida', mistaking *περιδαῖον* (— — —) for *περιδαῖον* (— — —). Metre and prosody indeed are not their forte: they mark as short the last syllable of *Ἐρινύν* and the first of *Πυθωνόθεν*; the middle syllable of *Τομάρον* they mark as long; they observe at vi 96 'a is long in *αἰστοῖν* in the only other Pindaric instance, Pyth. iii 37', i.e. in the augmented aorist *αἰστοῦσεν*; and at vi 119 they say that the reading *κτανέ-μεν τεμένει* would be metrical as an equivalent to *δέ μοι | γλώσσα μέλιτος*, apparently believing with Jebb that short syllables can be lengthened by breaking words in half. Their knowledge of the many different matters which their labours oblige them to handle is, considering its range and variety, remarkably accurate, and it would be unreasonable to complain that they are not accomplished metrists; but it is clear that in their case the precariousness of attempting to emend lyrics is not confined to places where the metre is uncertain.

vi 16, 17.

Δελφῶν κόραι χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν
παρὰ σκίοεντα μελπόμεναι.

The *σκίοεντα* of 17 gives — — — where the answering verses 99 and 139 have — — —, and the modern school of metrists will rejoice over it more than over ninety and nine just correspondences. I think that every such anomaly is jealously to be scrutinised, and here I note that conformity can be restored as easily as usual by writing *σκιάεντα*. This, though not the common, is yet the regular form (like *ποιάεις*, *πετράεις*, *αἰγλάεις*, *ἀλκάεις*, *αὐδάεις*, *κνισάεις*, *λαχνάεις*, *μορφάεις*, *τιμάεις*, *τολμάεις*, *φωναίεις*, *χαιτάεις*), and is mentioned by Choeroboscus; *σκίοεις* is an abnormality, created by the needs of epic metre and the

false analogy of words like *σκοτούεις*, and disapproved by Aristarchus, who altered *σκιόειντα* to *σκιόωντα* in the text of Homer. Pindar employs it once, in the epic phrase *ὀρέων σκιόειντων* at Pyth. ix 34; but there was nothing to prevent him from using the true form beside the false, as *θυόεις* was used beside *θυήεις*. He often in these adjectives contracts the two syllables *-αιεντ-* into one, but *λαχνάεντα* has its full length at Pyth. i 19, *τιμάεντες* at Isth. iii 25, and *αὐδάεντα* in frag. 194.

vi 62-65.

θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαῆς ὑπὲρ πανελ-
λάδος, ἄντε Δελφῶν
ἔθνος εὖξάτο λι-
μοῦ σ[υ- - - - -].

The editors print *Πανελλάδος* with a capital and translate it 'All-Hellas'. Pindar wrote Greek, so *πανελλάδος* is an adjective: it agrees with some such noun as *ἑορτᾶς*, to which also the relative *ἄντε* refers. The Delphians are here said to have founded the Pythian games in fulfilment of a vow made in time of famine.

vi 76-80.

ἦνεγκε [υ- - - Διομή-]
δεα παῖς [Ζηνὸς υ- - - - -]
ὃν ἐμβαλῶν ἰὼν ἔσχε μάχας]
Πάρι[ος] ἐ[καβάλος βροτῆ-]
σίω δέμαϊ θεός.

80

Here the editors' restoration of 79 is admirable, but their unhappy thought of Diomedes at 76 has made them miss the sense of it. They say 'cf. Iliad A 369 sqq. Homer, however, does not ascribe the wounding of Diomedes by Paris to any special intervention of Apollo.' Very true: the person wounded by Apollo in the guise of Paris was Achilles (Hyg. fab. 107 'Apollo iratus, Alexandrum Parin se simulans, talum, quem mortalem habuisse dicitur, percussit et occidit'), and to that event does the whole passage 78-86 refer: the *ἄφαρ* of 81 is no hindrance. Diomedes could only appear in 76 as one of the pair who fetched Achilles from Scyros; but the lacuna more probably contains something like [θρασυνμή]δεα παῖς [Ζηνὸς Αἰακίδαρ].

vi 87-91.

ὄσσα τ' ἔριξε λευκωλένῳ
ἄκναμπτον Ἥρῃ μένος ἀντρείδων,
ὄσα τε Πολιάδι . πρὸ πόνων
δέ κε μεγάλων Δαρδανίαν 90
ἔπραθον, εἰ μὴ φύλασεν Ἀπόλλων.

The editors render *πρὸ πόνων μεγάλων* 'in return for their great pains' and exert themselves to support this use of *πρὸ*. But it seems clear that the words mean 'before ever the long war came to pass.' In Pyth. i 54 we have *Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρσεν, τελεύταςεν τε πόνους Δαναοῖς*, and in Nem. vii 35 sq. *Πριάμον πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθην, | τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν*.

vi 109-117.

σχεδὸν δὲ Τομάρον Μολοσσίδα γαῖαν
ἐξίκετ', οὐδ' ἀνέμους ἔλαθεν 110
οὐδὲ τὸν εὐρυφαρέτρην ἐκαβόλον·
ὦ[μο]σε[ν] δὲ θ[ε]ός·
γεραιὸν δὲ Πριάμον
πρὸς ἐρκείον ἦναρε βωμὸν ἐ-
πενθορόντα, μὴ νιν εὖφρον' ἐς οἷ[μ]ον 115
μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἰξέ-
μεν βίον.

112. The corresponding verse, 51, is *ταῦτα θεοῖσι μὲν*, and the editors, to make them match, invoke synizesis in both places. But this necessity they have brought upon themselves: write

ὦ[μο]σε [γὰρ θ]εός.

115. Not this weak metaphorical οἷ[μ]ον, but εὖφρον' ἐς οἷ[κ]ον: see 105 sqq. οὔτε ματέρ' ἔπειτα κεδνὰν εἶδεν, οὔτε πατρώϊας ἐν ἀρούραις . . . Μυρμιδόνων . . . ὅμιλον ἔγειρε, Iliad v 686 sqq. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμελλον ἐγὼ γε | νοστήσας οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν | εὐ-φρανέειν ἀλοχὸν τε φίλῃν καὶ νήπιον νιόν, Lucr. iii 894 'iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta'.

vi 117-120.

ἄμφιπόλοις δὲ
[.]υρ[.] . . .]περὶ τιμᾶν
[δηρι]αζόμενον κτάνειν
ἐν [τεμέ]νῃ φίλῳ γὰς παρ' ὀμφαλὸν εὐρίν.

Pindar recurs to the story of Neoptolemus' death at Delphi in Nem. vii 42 *κρεῶν νιν*

ὑπὲρ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρα,
and the scholia say that in so doing he sought to remove an ambiguity in the present passage, which they quote as ἀμφιπόλοισι μαρνάμενον μυριάν περὶ τιμάν (i.e. μυριάν . . . τιμάν). The Aeginetans, supposing the words to mean περὶ χρημάτων, were angry that an Aeacid should be represented as trying to plunder Delphi; so Pindar explained that they really meant περὶ νομιζομένων τιμῶν τοῖς Δελφοῖς, i.e. περὶ κρεῶν. Therefore, and because μυριάν gave no sense, Boeckh conjectured μοιριάν, a word not otherwise known, but supposed to mean μοιριδιάν. The editors say 'the papyrus proves the antiquity of the mis-spelling μυριάν.' It proves rather that Boeckh changed the wrong letter and ought to have written κυριάν περὶ τιμῶν, their rightful and lawful perquisites: how naturally this would be explained by νομιζομένων may be seen from Dem. 954 (36 32) ὁμολόγεις κυρίως δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὴν γεγαμῆσθαι. Neoptolemus' own just demand for his father's armour is described by Sophocles Phil. 63 with the words κυρίως αἰτουμένης, and Oed. Col. 915 τὰ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς κύρια means the same as νόμιμα.

The papyrus has a marginal variant Πυθῶν, seemingly a mere conjecture; it also has a scholium, left in a strange condition by the editors, which should be written thus: ἦτοι τῶν κρεῶν, ἃ διαρπαζόντων συνήθως τῶν ἄλλων ἐδυσχέραινε καὶ ἐκώλυε, διὸ καὶ ἀνήρηται ἡ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ διαρπαζῶν εἰς ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνιέρηθη.

ix.

c ἀμάχανον
d ἰσχύν τ' ἀνδράσι | καὶ σοφίας ὁδὸν 4
e ἐπίσκοτον.

c τινός,
d ἡ καρποῦ φθίσιν, | ἡ νιφετοῦ σθένος 14
e ὑπέρφατον.
c (missing)
d ἐκράνθη ὑπὸ | δαίμονίῳ τινί 34
e λέχει.
c Πύθ[ι]·
d [τῷ] Κάδμον στρατὸν | καὶ Ζεῦθον πόλιν 44
e ἀκερσεκόμα.

It will be observed that this, the fourth line of the two strophes and antistrophes, always ends with a short syllable, which is never lengthened by position nor followed by hiatus; and that the end of the third line, wherever extant, obeys the same restriction. The fourth line therefore is apparently in synaphea with what precedes and follows, and is merely a scribe's line, not a verse. The division of the verse lies where I have marked it and where it is revealed by the syllaba anceps. The first strophe and antistrophe (frag. 107) were thus arranged by Blass as long ago as 1869. The editors have noticed, and marked in their scheme of metre, a similar division in the 6th line of the strophe of ii, and again in the 4th line of the epode; and yet again in the 13th and 16th lines of the strophe of vi.

In conclusion I note two passages which have a bearing on the text of other authors. The [σώ]φρονος ἄνθεσιν εἰννομίας of i 10 supports Bacchyl. xiii 153 εἰννομία τε σαόφρων both against Jebb's εἰννομία and against my σαοσίφρων; and τὸ οἴκοθεν ἄστυ in iv 32 provides what the editors of Sophocles have not been able to find, a parallel to ἡ οἴκοι πόλις in Oed. Col. 759.

A. E. HOUSMAN

HELIOS-HADES.

IN a note to his illuminating *Elpis and Eros* Mr. Cornford writes: 'There is, I am told, some reason to identify Hades with the sun in the underworld.' The reasons for this identification are indeed many, but the full

cogency of some could only be felt after a detailed examination of Greek Ouranian mythology.² It must suffice for the moment

² For such an examination we confidently look to Mr. A. B. Cook, whose preliminary and deeply interesting studies on this subject have already appeared in the *Classical Review* in six articles under the title

¹ C.R. xxi. 1907, No. 8, Dec. p. 228.

to show that certain obvious difficulties and anomalies, which have long been noted in the cult and mythology of Hades, disappear at once when he is seen to be the underworld sun, ἥλιος ἀνῆλιος.

This identity of Hades and Helios, which seems at first startling, is really the simplest thing in the world, and is indeed well-nigh world-wide. The sun rules all day long, but at night 'the moon and the stars govern the sky.' What is the sun doing? Obviously he has gone to rule another kingdom in the west, in the shades below. We watch him go there in his splendour: βασιλεύει says the Greek of to-day, when the sun sets. The Babylonian underworld-god, Nergal, Mr. Johns kindly tells me, is first the local sun-god of Kutha; his name means only 'hero great' (Neru-gal, Neri-gal, Nergal); next he is the winter-sun-god; last, when departmentalism sets in and Marduk is supreme, Nergal goes down to be king of the Underworld, where already a queen like Persephone ruled the shades before him.

We pass to Greece itself. Why is it that Hades, dread king of the Underworld, third in the mighty Homeric¹ Trinity of the sons of Kronos, has, in Greece, practically no cultus? To his home all men come: why do they not seek to placate him? It is not that he is worshipped under other and euphemistic titles, as Plouton and Eubouleus; it is not only or chiefly that he is identified with cheerless Thanatos. The reason is simpler, and primarily has nothing to do with death. It is merely that, as Pompey aptly observed to Sulla, 'more people worship the rising than the setting sun.'²

'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak,' 1903-1904, and in modified and amplified form under the title 'The European Sky-God' in *Folk Lore* 1904-1906. Mr. Cook makes Hades ἄν-Δης Zeus of the earth (αἶα), but he suggests that this notion of the bright sun-god dwelling in the dark earth may have been suggested by the fact that the sunset and the sun was regarded as a special manifestation of the 'bright' god. Mr. Cook is much more likely to be right on these matters than I am, but I would suggest that it is simpler, and I think more natural, to begin with the sun, and perhaps end with him. The 'earth-Zeus' does not commend himself to me as primitive.

¹ *Il.* xv. 189.

² *Plut. Vit. Pomp.* 14.

The scholiast³ is not, of course, correct when he says that there is not in any city an altar of Hades. The notable exception is instructive. At Elis there was a sacred precinct and temple of Hades; and Pausanias⁴ remarks, 'The Eleans are the only people we know of who worship Hades.' Why? Pausanias explains. The worship, it seems, came from Pylos on the coast of Elis. Now we begin to understand. This western-most of Peloponnesian coasts was well named *Pylos*, the Gate-place of the setting sun, where day by day he went down into the Ionian sea. Hades stood by the Pylians in their fight against Herakles, and then it was he endured his famous and grievous wound.⁵

τλῆ δ' Ἀΐδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριοις ὤκν' οἰστόν,
εὐτέ μιν ὤπτος ἀνὴρ, υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν.

Commentators exhaust their energies in explaining why and at what point in his canonical 'labours' Herakles came to be at Pylos. It is more important to note that the whole Pylos legend is sun-mythology. Pindar (*Ol.* ix. v. 49) knew it. At Pylos Herakles is hard pressed, not only or chiefly by Hades but by Phoebus.

ἤριδ' ἐν τέ μιν ἀργυρέῳ τόξῳ πολεμίζων
Φοῖβος.

Herakles wounds Hades in western Pylos with a swift arrow. Herakles going to still more western Tartessus, became, Apollodorus⁶ tells us, too hot from the sun's rays and drew his bow against the god. The scene occurs on a black-figured vase-painting.⁷ Hades and Helios suffer the same onset. But why from Herakles? Apollodorus all unconsciously makes this 'sonnenklar.' Helios, he says, so admired the courage of Herakles that he gave him a golden cup in which Herakles crossed the ocean.

³ ad *Il.* ix. 158.

⁴ vi. 25. 1.

⁵ *Il.* v. 395-7. For the view taken by Aristarchus of πύλω see Dr. Leaf *ad loc.* All that is necessary to note here is that there was evidently a primitive notion that at *Pylos* was the gate of the underworld.

⁶ Apollod. 2. 5. 10. 2. Θερμαινόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἥλιου κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ τόξον ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέτεινεν.

⁷ Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Helios, p. 1995.

Helios had only one golden cup to give, the cup in which he himself sailed and slept at sunset.

At night across the sea that wondrous bed
Shell-hollow, beaten by Hephaistos' hand,
Of wingéd gold and gorgeous, bears his head
Half-waking on the wave from eve's red
strand

To the Ethiop shore, where steeds and
chariot are,
Keen-mettled, waiting for the morning star.¹

Such a gift was only from a Sun-god to a Sun-god — from Helios to Herakles.² Herakles wounds Helios-Hades. The young sun uprising shoots his arrows at the old setting sun.

A wall-painting at Vulci represents Hades seated on his throne holding a sceptre. On his head is a rayed crown, 'not,' says Dr. Drexler³ in his eagerness to react against solar mythology, 'to mark him as a solar being' but as a ruler. Surely the simpler explanation is the better: Hades wears a rayed crown because he is Helios. On another Etruscan wall-painting⁴—a class of monument too often neglected as not 'classical'—Hades wears for cap a beast's head. This headdress has puzzled archaeologists; but surely it is mysterious no more, if we remember the lion headdress of Herakles. Hades has also a cap of darkness, natural enough in any case, but doubly natural if he is the Sun, because as Sun he *is* not dark, he *becomes* dark by putting on his cap. Nor does Hades alone wear the *κυνέη* "Αἶδος ἡλιοστερής. No doubt any and every god might find it useful, but it is significant that the *κυνέη*, which I believe to have been literally ἡλιοστερής, is an integral part of the myth of Perseus, most obviously solar of all solar heroes.⁵

¹ Mimnermus frg. of *Nanno*. I borrow Mr. Gilbert Murray's lovely and literal translation.

² I would guard against misunderstanding. Herakles has solar elements, but these do not exhaust his content: the same is true of Apollo, Odysseus, Orpheus, and even Dionysos. The reaction against solar mythology has led to the neglect of these elements.

³ Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Hades, p. 1806.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 1807.

⁵ See Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 85.

Hades, shadowy though he is, has two characteristics: he is noted for his horses and his herds.

Let us take his horses first. The Homeric⁶ epithet 'famous for foals'⁷ *κλυτόπωλος*, confined strictly as it is to Hades, has always vexed commentators. Hades, dwelling in the underground, king over the strengthless heads of the dead, what had he to do with the neighing and the prancing of young horses? The puzzle about the horses began with the ancients. Pausanias⁸ is telling of the song which Pindar, appearing after his death in a dream to an old woman, sang of Persephone. In this song, among the titles applied to Hades was that of 'golden reined' (*χρυσήνιος*). 'Why of course with reference to the Rape of Persephone' (*δῆλα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ*). Modern commentators have been scarcely more exacting.⁹

Such mythology, mythology which derives a fixed epithet from an incident obviously embarrassed by that epithet, is of the Noah's Ark order, and should be kept for the nursery. Hades himself is a late and sentimental intruder into the ancient 'Anodos Kathodos'¹⁰ myth of the Earth-Mother, and Maiden. The apparition of a golden chariot and swift deathless horses rising and rushing through the yawning cleft,¹¹ though noisy and magnificent, is really absurd and irrelevant. Hades has been dragged into the story and with him clatters in his anomalous driving gear. The best is made of it but it

⁶ *Il.* 5. 654, etc.

⁷ See Dr. Verrall, 'Death and the Horse,' *J.H.S.* 1898, xviii. p. 13. The meaning 'famous for foals' serves my interpretation well—the young morning sun-god Helios has young horses.

⁸ ix. 23. 2.

⁹ Except Dr. Verrall *op. cit.*, whose beautiful *κλυτόπωλος*, haunts of the fallen, I reluctantly renounce. For other views, none of which content him, see Dr. Leaf *ad Il.* 5. 654. Our latest authority Dr. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. p. 283 writes 'In spite of recent attempts at explanation, the origin of the epithet *κλυτόπωλος* remains doubtful; the traditional view that the god was called "famous for his steeds" just as Pindar styles him *χρυσήνιος* "the lord of the golden reins," because he carried off Persephone in a stately chariot, is not convincing, but is as good as any that have been offered.'

¹⁰ See my *Prolegomena*, p. 276.

¹¹ Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.* v. 17 and 375-382.

is a bad best. But amid much mythological confusion we thank the Hymn for one hint. Hades is even here, though the Hymn-writer probably does not know it, the Underworld Sun. Who heard the cry of the maiden when the Sun-god bore her below the earth? Who but the Moon, Hekate of the Shining Veil,¹ as she sat 'thinking delicate thoughts' in her cave. To whom does she turn for help but to him who has done the deed he beheld—to Helios?

Hades has horses and chariot and golden reins because he is the sun. We are so used in modern poetry to Phoebus watering his steeds that we scarcely ask how he came by them. It was by slow stages, but every step can be made out and the process is instructive. At first Helios was worshipped just for what he was, or rather what he looked, a disk in the skies. The image of the sun among the Paeonians, who, like other Thracian tribes, were great sun-worshippers, was, according to Maximus of Tyre,² a small disk on a long pole. As the sun was observed to move, it was easy to imagine the disk as a wheel, first solid, then spoked, then winged. To such a wheel was bound the sun and *mistletoe* hero *Ixion*.³ So long as the sun was conceived of as a wheel, he could be kept sympathetically going by rolling blazing wheels down hills, specially on Midsummer Day. But the wheel developed into a chariot and for the chariot there must needs be horses, horses young and strong.

Surely the sun has laboured all his days
And never any respite, steeds nor god.⁴

Dr. Stengel⁵ has collected the scattered and fairly numerous instances of the sacrifice of horses in ancient Greece. He comes to the conclusion that such sacrifices

are always 'chthonic,' and would connect them with hero-worship. It is surely more simple to suppose that they, like many other sacrifices, arose in practices of sympathetic magic. The Rhodians sink four-horse chariots in the sea to the Sun. Why? Festus⁶ knows: *quod is tali curriculo fertur circumvehi mundum*. And if you sacrifice to the rising Sun with his day's work before him, it is good to give him a bright white horse, and that he should be fresh and free and a foal. *προσθήκει δὲ καὶ ἀνίσχοντι τῷ Ἀλίῳ εὐχεσθαι πῶλον αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες λευκὸν τε καὶ ἄνετον*.⁷ There is nothing 'chthonic' about all this any more than there is about the sun-lit peaks of Taügetos where the white horse was slain.⁸ Of course, to be consistent, you ought at sunset to sacrifice an old black hack; but no one cares about the setting sun, so you economize.

μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρά.

The horses of Hades-Helios speak plainly enough; but it is after all his cows that are most convincing. The holy herds of Helios we all know—they were real herds, sheep and oxen, not merely symbols of the clouds or the stars.⁹ Helios had sacred herds not only in Thrinakia,¹⁰ but at Taenarus¹¹ and at Gortyna,¹² and, most real and actual of all, at Apollonia. By day, Herodotus¹³ tells us, they fed by the river, by night they were folded in a cave and chosen citizens, wealthy and high born kept watch over them each for the space of a year. . . . At Elis¹⁴ again close to Pylos we have the Gleam-man Augeias, son of Helios, of whom tradition said light-rays shone out from his eyes (*ἐδόκουν δὲ ἀκτῖνες ἀπολάμπειν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*). A bull whose name was Phaethon¹⁵ lorded it over the kine, and the

⁶ p. 181.

⁷ Philostr. *Her.* xi. 1, p. 309.

⁸ P. iii. 20. 5.

⁹ But undoubtedly, as Aristotle (fr. 175 R^a) saw, the numbers of the sacred herds are fixed in connection with the calendar and vary according to whether this is a moon or sun calendar—for this subject see Usener, *die Sintflutsagen*, p. 193.

¹⁰ *Od.* xii. 135.

¹¹ *Hom. Hym. Apoll.* 411.

¹² *Serv. ad Verg. Ecl.* vi. 60.

¹³ ix. 93.

¹⁴ *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 172. *Schol. ad loc.*

¹⁵ *Theokr.* xxv. 139.

¹ *Op. cit.* v. 25. For Hekate as the moon, see Sikes and Allen *ad loc.*

² *Max. Tyr.* 8. 8. ἀγαλμα δὲ Ἡλίου Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μακροῦ ξύλου—I believe that I owe this reference to Mr. A. B. Cook. If I borrow without acknowledgment from his invaluable writings I trust he will forgive me and—provide me with an index.

³ *Mr. A. B. Cook, C.R.* xvii. p. 420.

⁴ *Mimnermus, op. cit.*

⁵ Αἰδης Καντόπωλος, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1905, p. 206.

stables of this transparent Sun-god Herakles had much ado to cleanse.

Augeias at western Elis, near to Pylos, home of Hades, brings us near the setting sun; but most conclusive are the herds of Geryoneus. Geryoneus dwells in Red Island ('Ερυθρία . . νῆσος), close to Okeanos. He has crimson cows (φουινκᾶς βόας); they are watched over by the Dawn Dog (Orthros) and he is two- or three-headed like . . . Kerberos. Herakles, after wounding Helios, comes sailing across Okeanos in the golden cup, suitable enough to carry a disk, but in it eventually he has to ship the herd of cows, which are as awkward as the horses and chariot of Helios. It is all clear enough. Geryoneus is the sun-setting in the west, but Apollodorus¹ is quite accidentally and ignorantly explicit. When Herakles has struck the two-headed dog and slain the herdsman Eurytion Μενόιτης δὲ ἐκ εἰ τὰς Ἄδου βόας βόσκων, Γηρυόνη τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπήγγειλεν. To such shifts is conservative mythology driven.

Helios-Hades is a figure fashioned for poet and mystic, but it is a primitive mysticism re-emerging in the late learning of Macrobius. It was a mysticism of light and shadow and life and death that must surely have begun in the ancient Arcadian precinct of Zeus the Light-god² (Λυκαῖος), Zeus, whose image, before his altar, was two pillars set towards the rising sun. Within that precinct no man or beast cast a shadow; it was 'sacred, high, eternal noon,' but into that precinct if a man came he died within the year. It was a mysticism that Ephesus laid hold of in her magical mystical 'letters.'³

¹ Apollod. 2. 5. 10.

² Paus. viii. 38. 6. The sources are all collected by Immerwahr, *Die Arkadischen Kulte*, p. 8.

³ Hesych. s.v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα. The hexameter was detected by Roscher, *Philologus*, 1901, pp. 81 ff. The riddle has been triumphantly read by Dr. Wolfgang Schultz in his brilliant *Pythagoras und Heraklit*, p. 62. The full exposition of its significance

Αἴσια Δαμναμένει Τέτραξ Λιξ Ἄσκι Κατάσκι

True things Sun Year Earth Shadowless Shadowed.

Such mysticism is primitive, deep-rooted. It lives on long in magical practice, in philosophical theory, and most of all in ancient drama. The *Alkestis* of Euripides, though Euripides knew and cared nothing for such *origines*, is based on a folk-tale with behind it a sun myth; the sun must needs set, Admetus must needs die. The wife's devotion stirs our sentiment and obscures our vision, but Alkestis herself remembers⁴ to whom her farewell must really be said.

Ἄλκι καὶ φάος ἀμέρας

οὐράνιαι τε δῖναι νεφέλας δρομαίων,
the sun-boat is waiting for her, the σκάφος-σκύφος

ὄρω δίκωπον ὄρω σκάφος ἐν λίμνῃ

it will not, cannot tarry, and for her waits the old-new bridegroom, winged, with gleaming eyes.

ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυανανέσι

βλέπων πτερωτός—Ἄιδας.⁵

A sun-god takes her and a sun-god delivers her, and if conviction still halts, can we forget that before the palace-gates in the prologue moved the shapes of the two real protagonists,⁶ Light and Darkness,

Mors et Vita contententes?⁶

may well be left to him and is promised for the sequel of his work, *op. cit.* p. 114.

⁴ Eur. *Alc.* 245-262.

⁵ Adopting Dindorf's text. If my view be correct and Hades is the underworld Helios the difficulty about a winged Hades (see Robert, *Thanatos*, p. 36) would of course disappear.

⁶ Space does not allow me to enlarge here on the Sun-aspects of Apollo: he and his flocks and herds haunt the Alkestis; probably at Pherae as at Apollonia there were sacred sun-flocks. The correlation and contrast between Apollo and Aidoneus is elaborately worked out by Plutarch in his *E. at Delphi*, see especially chapters xx and xxi with the account of Thessalian priests of Apollo whose method of life was described by the term φοιβονομείσθαι.

JANE E. HARRISON.

ARTEMIS APHAIA.

UP to the present no attempt has been made to explain the epithet Aphaia given to Artemis at the Athenian temple in Aegina. The double name may be due to a compromise between the Athenian founders and the people that were on the site before them. It is generally agreed that Aphaia had a local cult at Aegina.¹

Now there is evidence that at Rhodes, Thera, and Aegina² there were Phoenician Settlements and it is reasonable to infer that the new-comers must have brought with them some elements of their worship. The suggestion now offered is that the goddess Aphaia was of Semitic origin; the equation may be put thus:—

ΑΦΑΙΑ = יפה (= beautiful).

Then final A is the feminine termination. It will be objected that the Greek transliteration does not show the initial 'I' sound of the supposed original; besides this, ΑΦΑΙΑ, without an 'I' at the beginning is the form found in Pausanias, Hesychius, and elsewhere, yet the treatment of foreign proper names by Greek writers (e.g. Herodotus) is subject to so many vagaries that in the case before us the transliteration may have been inaccurate from the beginning, especially if the name was communicated to the Greeks orally and not in writing.

It is conceivable that the assumed 'I' was lost in crasis: thus ΤΑΙ ΙΑΦΑΙΑΙ> ΤΑΙΑΦΑΙΑΙ> ΤΑΦΑΙΑΙ (see Furtwängler, ii. Taf. 25, No. 1). The main connecting link between ΑΦΑΙΑ and יפה is that the title Καλλίστη was applied to Artemis in Greece proper.

¹ Furtwängler, *Aegina*, vol. i. Einleitung.

² Hall, *Oldest Civilisation in Greece*, pp. 237, 286, N. 2.

(Paus. i. 29. 2) tells us that as Καλλίστη, she had a ξόανον in the Academia near Athens, and a temple near Tricoloni in Arcadia (*Id.* 8. 35. 8).

Artemis was also known as Ὠραία: this may be seen from an inscription found in the Peiraeus

ἱέρων Ἀρτέμιδι Ὠραία.

Eph. Arch. 1884, p. 69.

The epithet Καλλίστη appears again on a sepulchral inscription found at Aleppo, one of the early Phoenician trade routes:

Ἀρτέμιδι Καλ(λ)ίστη . . . χαῖρε.

C.I.G. 4445.

A further support of the suggested equation is to be found in the classification of the names Salamis and Samos³ as Semitic in origin.

The form ΑΦΑΙΑ may be due to folk-etymology. Stephanus sub ΑΦΑΙΑ, quotes Ant. Lib. 40, p. 270 to show that the name was derived from ἀφανής. This derivation could account for the absence of an initial 'I' sound.

It has already been mentioned that Thera was a Phoenician settlement: in connection with this it is interesting to recall that Thera's original name was Kalliste (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 258: v. 74: Paus. iii. 17). Is it possible that while Thera was still known to the Greeks as Kalliste, it had the same Aphaia cult as Aegina and that when the new name Thera (cp. Ἀρτεμὺς ἀγροτέρα) was brought in, it once for all ousted Kalliste, taken over from the goddess Aphaia?

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³ Hall, *op. cit.* pp. 227-28.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

THE Year's Work in Classical Studies (1907) has just appeared. Its chapter headings are the same as last year, with omission NO. CXCI. VOL. XXII.

of two papers and addition of two, namely Hellenistic Greek by J. H. Moulton, and New Testament by A. S. Peake. It is

published by John Murray at 2/6 net (with a reduction to members of the Classical Association), and contains a summary of the work of the year in each department.

THE *Classical Quarterly* for January contains papers on the proper appellation of Aelius Gallus, Hadrian's adopted son, by Mr. Farquharson, a continuation of Mr. H. Richards' *Platonica*, critical notes upon Seneca by Dr. Kronenberg and Mr. W. Summers, a criticism of Prof. Naber's methods of emending Apollonius Rhodius by Mr. Seaton, a study, after Mr. Cornford, of Pericles and Cleon in Thucydides by Miss M. F. Stawell, emendations of Dorotheus of Sidon, a Greek astrological poet, by Mr. Housman, a re-examination of a passage of Pindar's Second Olympian lately discussed by Mr. Garrod, and the first instalment of a dissertation by Mr. T. W. Allen upon the 'Epic Cycle.'

THE question of Greek came up at the Headmasters' Conference in Oxford, when Dr. Burge proposed and Mr. Lyttelton seconded the motion that the Greek paper in school scholarship examinations should be lightened. The proposal did not please either those who support the present system or those who wish for reform, and it was lost by a considerable majority. A proposal to abolish it altogether in those examinations would have been more warmly supported, and might have won more votes. Abolition is the only logical proposal if any reform be desired; a qualifying paper would be of little use, and would encourage the learning of grammatical forms, whilst any kind of competition would result in the standard rising automatically. The preparatory schools are

urgent for abolition; and it is desirable that the truth should be known about the effect of the present curriculum on young boys.

THE November number of the *Classical Journal of Chicago* has an account of a representation of the *Eumenides* in Greek by members of the University of California. This University, happier than our own, possesses as it seems a Greek theatre; which to judge from the accompanying plate, is a fine building. 'The audience,' we are told, 'was profoundly moved' by the play. In the first act, the interior of the temple of Apollo was disclosed by a curtain being withdrawn.

The same number has a paper 'On Distraction in Secondary Work in Latin,' which examines some needless drawbacks to our work. Especial attention is called to the incompetent editing of school texts, which are burdened with notes that are meant for the teacher and are worse than useless to the learner.

ON November 13th, the *Phormio* of Terence was acted at Beaumont College, Old Windsor, by the boys of the Higher Division, the 'Augustan' pronunciation of Latin being used. Dorio and the *mutae personae* had disappeared under the censor's hands and the plot was slightly modified, chiefly by way of simplification. A brief prologue in English was prefixed to each of the five scenes, and the scenes themselves were marked by change of scenery. These concessions to modern taste appeared justified, and scenery, dresses, and lighting were excellent. The rendering of the languid and impertinent Phormio was a fine piece of acting.

REVIEWS

LES ENCEINTES ROMAINES DE LA GAULE.

Les Enceintes Romaines de la Gaule. By ADRIEN BLANCHET. Paris: Leroux, 1907. 8vo. Pp. iii + 356. 20 plates of photographs and drawings.

THIS book is rather for the professed student than for the general reader. It is of the nature of a work of reference, a compendium of research up to date. Thus it is somewhat

dry and cumbersome, though closely packed with information.

The first 219 pages deal with the fortified Roman towns in order of provinces, Lugdunensis, Belgica, Germania, Maxima Sequanorum, Viennensis, Aquitania, Novempopulana, Narbonensis. The aim of M. Blanchet is to take each town separately, and trace where the old wall ran. The Roman enceinte was the town boundary as a rule, up to the twelfth century. Very little real Roman work remains, for obvious reasons: the old monuments of all kinds were a natural quarry for the medieval builder, as in our land the tower of St. Alban's Abbey was made of bricks from deserted Verulamium. When a medieval town was rebuilt a considerable area round the old rampart was taken in, so that now streets and often churches stand over the old foundations. Digging for various modern purposes has enabled archeologists to find here and there these foundations, often at a great depth below the actual surface of to-day. On the other hand Forum Julii was five times bigger than the poor little Fréjus which travellers pass on their way to the Riviera. A short chapter is given to the castra and castella of the limes germanicus.

The second part is a general summing-up of results. There are chapters on material and methods of construction, towers and gates, inscriptions, and the periods of building in Gaul. Details are given of the nature of the mortar; lime, sand, powdered brick, and chopped straw are mentioned. Photographs and drawings show how bricks and stones were laid, three courses of bricks to five or six layers of stones, four of bricks and ten of stones, in various towns, Le Mans furnishing some excellent examples both in tower and curtain. Thicknesses vary from a metre and a quarter at Fréjus to four metres at Le Mans and five at Vienne, perimeters from 6,400 metres at Trèves and 6,200 at Nîmes to the more common 1,000 or 1,500, as at Boulogne. Autun and Nîmes are peculiar: each had a very large fortified area, but at the time of the first barbarian invasions concentration was deemed to be necessary and a mere corner of the old town was refortified. Another and unexpected feature is that often a wall of the later empire is found to be built up of

old material, capitals and pillars of old temples, and general debris; one infers a period of peace and prosperity during which the earliest wall was neglected, followed by a hasty rebuilding against the German invaders. More striking still is the contrast between the material of *gros appareil* at the base of many a wall, great blocks of stone badly squared and thrown together without mortar, the above-mentioned debris of ruined buildings included, and the upper portions of *petit appareil* of smaller carefully cut and mortared stones and layers of bricks: haste followed by careful building is the inference. M. Blanchet sums up that, a few well-known and authenticated cases of fortified cities of the first century excluded, towns were generally walled towards the end of the third century, especially during the sojourn of Probus in Gaul. Probus completed Aurelian's work at Rome itself, and it was on Aurelian's death that barbarians invaded Gaul: he recovered sixty or seventy towns from them. 'N'oublions pas,' adds M. Blanchet, 'que Probus fit planter des vignes et des arbres fruitiers en Gaule. C'est l'indice d'une réelle confiance dans l'avenir.' The moral is clear. One has a scare and takes to defensive measures, confidence is restored for a time, Gaul is the bulwark of the empire once more as it had ever been, but the fatal thing is seen nevertheless: Rome stands at bay behind walls and so does her bulwark province, and that means that invasion is expected.

The value of a work of this type lies in the summing-up. Long and dry accounts of the exact lie of this or that enceinte are uninteresting to us. But the details gleaned by the hard work of the antiquary alone can enable him to sum up at all. Two pages of valuable conclusion are the result of years of study, but in those two pages we have the problem of the later empire. M. Blanchet admits that others had been in the field before him, but he has made his own exhaustive investigation at or of all the sites and of all the available material. Finally he adds that some coin or inscription of Diocletian may yet be found among the great blocks of the foundations and upset his theory.

A touch of interest personal to the reviewer concerns Boulogne. Many know the haute ville, its ramparts and citadel at one angle, medieval but mostly on the site of Roman walls. M. Blanchet quotes the excellent researches of M. Vaillant, known personally to many residents, and even to casual tourists, and a local savant of a superior type: it was he who proved that Boulogne was the headquarters of the Classis Britannica. One asks, on reading this book for review, have we such an array of local antiquarians, and can their work be summed up by an expert? Well; the Victoria County Histories are beginning to do the work, but often the author of wide and general knowledge is not in touch with the local man who has the details.

In some cases there is a special interest in connection with the amphitheatre of a Roman town: it was incorporated in the fortifications.

At Tours and Périgueux it was transformed into a bastion; at Nîmes it was inside the first, and became a military post of the second and reduced city. So the amphitheatrum castrense and the mausoleum of Hadrian were incorporated in Aurelian's defences at Rome. Amphitheatres elsewhere, just as theatres and temples, became quarries; wisely, if they lay outside the walls and were likely to be used by an enemy as cover. Remain to be mentioned the great gateways at Autun and Trèves; the arches of Autun particularly interest students of architecture, for from them can be traced the development of the peculiar forms of the windows of Burgundian churches and cathedrals. The most interesting and most numerous of the photographs and drawings are of the considerable remains at Le Mans.

J. E. MORRIS.

SCRIPTORES ORIGINUM CONSTANTINOPOLITANARUM.

Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum.

Recensuit THEODORUS PREGER. Fasciculus alter Ps.-Codini origines continens. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. 8vo. Pp. xxvi + 240. Plan of Constantinople. M.6.

BEFORE the year 1895 it was believed by Byzantine scholars that the collection which goes under the name of Πάτρια Κωνσταντινπόλεως was originally compiled in the last years of Alexius Comnenus and was transcribed in the fifteenth century by George Codinus, with whose name it is associated. The date of the anonymous work was determined by the dedicatory poem to Alexius Comnenus which appears on the first page of Banduri's edition, and by the fact that the latest event recorded (the fall of the porphyry pillar of Constantine) belongs to the year 1106. But in 1895 Dr. Th. Preger published his *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der Πάτρια Κπόλεως*, in which he proved beyond question that the date of the work was more than a century older than had been supposed. The

MSS. fall into three groups, which Preger designates as A, B, and C. It is only in those of the C group that the dedicatory poem appears. The passage relating to the porphyry pillar occurs only in the B group. The latest Emperor mentioned in the work, as it is found in the A MSS., is Basil II., and he is spoken of in such a way as strongly to suggest that the author lived in his reign, and this is definitely confirmed by two chronological statements which concur in showing that he wrote in A.D. 995. It is only the B MSS. which bear the name of Codinus, and as these are found only in Western libraries, Preger conjectures that this unknown person lived in Western Europe, perhaps in Italy. The C MSS. represent a recension of the work, in which the order of paragraphs was entirely changed (in accordance with a topographical scheme) in the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

In 1901 Preger edited, as the first part of the *Scriptores originum*, the three main sources of the tenth-century author: the Πάτρια of Hesychius, the Παραστάσεις, and

the *Διήγησις* on St. Sophia. The second part, which is now before us, contains the work of 995, only omitting the *διήγησις*; while the changes in the order made by the Comnenian redactor are indicated by a convenient system of numeration. In the criticism of the text, Dr. Preger has shown unfailing judgment, and there are but few passages which still await correction or explanation.

I may point that *ἀμφοτέρων πατρικίων* (p. 144, 2) is not a clear case of the use *ἀμφοτέροι = πάντες*, for it may refer only to the last two names; the author may have found in his unknown source *Εὐστοργίου πατρικίου καὶ Μιχαὴλ πατρικίου καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριου*. P. 150, 21 *μέχρι τῶν Βλαχερνῶν καὶ τῆς Χρυσείας* is evidently corrupt, but I do not think that *τῆς Χρυσείας* is likely to be a 'falsum additamentum.' The text is singularly free from such unintelligent interpolations. It seems more probable that words have fallen out. Although in the preceding sentence *παρεξέβαλεν τὰ τεῖχη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐξακοντίου μέχρι Χρυσείας* implies the building of the new land-walls, a further explicit statement is not excluded, and I would therefore correct *μέχρι τῶν Βλαχερνῶν καὶ <τὰ χερσαῖα τεῖχη ἀπὸ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν μέχρι> τῆς Χρυσείας*. The following sentence, in which *τὰ τεῖχη* must refer to land as well as sea walls, seems to bear this out.

P. 152, 14, I do not understand Preger's hesitations (see Index) as to the meaning of *βιάζεται* in the statement *Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι βιάζεται*. It has surely the familiar classical sense of forcible contention, though with an unusual construction. P. 176, 73 (*τὸ ἐμπόδιον ὅπερ . . . ἔχει ὁ πούς ὁ εὐώνυμος τοῦ ἵππου*), *ἐμπόδιον* seems to be what is required. P. 235, 13, *νιού* should perhaps be *νιδού*, or possibly *νιού Κωνσταντος νιδού*. P. 259, 20 (*εὐρόντες ὑδάτων βερέντων*), a word like *πλήθος* has fallen out and *βερέντων* may be amended to *ρύντων*.

A more interesting problem is presented by *ἠνδρίζετο*, p. 204, 11. The General Ardaburius discovered a large treasure of gold, and honestly informed the Emperor Leo I. This did not save him from being sacrificed along with his father Aspar

to the Emperor's suspicions. He is here related to have said in his dying moments, *οὐδεὶς μολίβδῳ χρυσὸν καταμίξας ἐπὶ ζημίας* (oldest MS. *ἐπιζήμιος*) *ἠνδρίζετο οἷα παρὰ τῷ κυρτῷ τοιούτῳ βασιλεῖ εἰς ἐμὲ συμβέβηκεν*. Of the corrections which have been suggested the only one which explains the text is Preger's conjecture *ἐπιζήμιος ἠναρίζετο*, but a poetical word is out of place and improbable. Besides we have to consider the point of the exclamation. The general meaning is: A convicted utterer of false coin is not so badly treated as I have been treated by this humpback Emperor. Now how was a coiner treated? By Constantine's law of A.D. 326 (Cod. Just. ix, 24, 2), which remained valid till the Isaurian legislative reforms, his fate was *flammarum exustionibus mancipari*. Ardaburius (*ἑσφάττετο*) was slain by sword or dagger, and his physical constitution must have been exceptional if he considered this treatment severer than the penalty of being burned alive. The degree of physical suffering in their deaths cannot therefore be the point of contrast between himself and the coiner. But the coiner enjoyed one advantage; he was legally tried and sentenced: whereas Leo got rid of Aspar and Ardaburius (as the account of Theophanes gives us to understand, sub anno 5963) by having them privily assassinated (*δόλῳ*). This gives us the key to the complaint of Ardaburius. 'A coiner, who cheats the treasury, is treated legally; I, who enriched it, am treated as if I had no legal rights.' We can now make the simple restoration *ἐπιζήμιος ἠνδρ<αποδ>ίζετο*, 'was treated as a slave' who is outside the law. It may be noted that one meets *ἀνδραποδίζειν* in later Greek in the sense of 'do illegal violence to.'

Students of the topography and monuments of Constantinople, whom the *Πάτρια* chiefly concerns, are under a deep obligation to Preger for this laborious work, which is provided with very full indices. The small plan of the city might have had some more names (e.g. *Ῥάβδος* and *Porta vetus Prodromi*). Of misprints I have noticed only three: 216, 24 *depravit*; 243, 15 *marg.* 847 (for 842); 245, 8 *Θεόδωρος*.

J. B. BURY.

FURNEAUX'S *TACITUS*.

The Annals of Tacitus. Edited with introduction and notes by HENRY FURNEAUX. Vol. II, Books xi-xvi. Second edition, revised by H. F. PELHAM and C. D. FISHER. With a map. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. MCMVII. 8vo. Pp. 152 + 520. 21s. (\$5.25).

THE revisers of Furneaux's second volume have confined themselves to the historical and textual sides of his work, and his notes on points of grammar and meaning have scarcely been touched. On the historical side he has come very well out of the test of sixteen years, and Professor Pelham, who completed this part of the revision shortly before his death, has not greatly altered the historical complexion of the book, though he has made many valuable changes in details. Most of the larger changes are marked by brackets: others not so marked are to be found as follows:—In the Introduction, p. [29], on the department *a rationibus*; pp. [31-33], on Claudius' treatment of the Balkan provinces and the German frontier; p. [130], on the reasons for the annexation of Britain; p. [139], on the situation brought about by the first movements of Ostorius; p. [145], n. 4 (cp. the comment on xiv. 33. 1), on the site of Boudicca's defeat.

In the commentary, xi. 23 and 25, on the grant of the *ius honorum* to Gauls (cf. *C.R.* for 1895, p. 441); xii. 23 and 24, the *pomerium*; xii. 42, the early career of Burrus; xii. 69, the mode of accession to the principate; xiii. 9, *dux* and *praeses*, xiii. 33, the province of Cilicia, xv. 51, *nauarchi*.

I am glad to find that Pelham strongly advocates *cis Trisantonam* in xii. 31.

Mr. Fisher has brought the text into agreement with that of his recent edition of the *Annals* in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, and has made corresponding changes in the textual notes. The reviewer of the Oxford text may look to the present volume for justification of some of Mr. Fisher's readings; but he will not, for example, find any good excuse for the remarkable sentence which now stands in xi. 23. 7, or for the abbreviations *G.* and *Gn.* Apart from textual questions, I have noted only one addition to the non-historical parts of the commentary:—on *subisse* in xi. 27 a reference is made to Catullus 61. 161, *subi forem*.

The book commits a deadly sin: it fails to supersede the first edition. Mr. Fisher does not seem to have verified Furneaux's references; in books xi and xii alone a dozen false references at least survive from the first edition. Common decency required that Furneaux's own *corrigenda* should be embodied: yet, of the twenty-six *corrigenda* in the introduction and commentary, twelve remain uncorrected, and one (in a note on xv. 5) is altered wrong. A few misprints not noted by Furneaux remain, and a few have been added. Furneaux's preface has vanished, and the indices now cover only books xi-xvi, so that half of the latest form of the whole work is left indexless and forlorn.¹

¹ A reviewer in the *Athenaeum* (Sept. 7) observes that some of the references to the first volume are still made to the first edition of it, and that pp. 374-5 have five references to an appendix according to the old paging.

E. HARRISON.

ROMAN PLAYS.

Scaenica Romana. Scripsit JACOBUS VAN WAGENINGEN. 4to. Pp. ii + 67. Groningae: in aedibus Heredum P. Noordhoff, 1907. 1 m. 70 pf.
Album Terentianum. By the same Editor.

Folio. Pp. ii + 88. Same publishers, 1907. 6 m.

THESE two books contain cross-references to one another and must be noticed together.

Both are interesting, but neither is important. The first is a collection of all that is known about the production of plays in Rome. The author has a few opinions which are either novel or at least not frequently cited in England. He believes that the Roman stage was derived, through the Oscans, from the stage used in Magna Graecia, which is represented in the well-known burlesque scenes depicted on vases of that district. The Roman stage certainly had a stair in front [Polyb. 30, 13 (14), Suet. *Caes.* 39], and might have been about 5 feet high. It was built of wood even in Pompey's permanent theatre of B.C. 55 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 72, vi. 45). In regard to the use of masks by actors, there is some conflict of authority, for Diomedes (p. 489, 10 K) says that masks were introduced by Roscius, while Donatus (*de com.* vi. 3) ascribes them to Minucius Prothymus and another. Mr. van Wageningen adduces evidence to show that Minucius was acting B.C. 130-110 and was therefore earlier than Roscius, and then reconciles Diomedes and Donatus by supposing that Minucius was a Greek and followed the Greek fashion, whereas Roscius was the first Roman actor to adopt the mask. The other subjects discussed are the scenery, the *grex*, the lives of certain famous actors, stage-dresses and stage-gestures. This last topic furnishes the chief connexion between the two books, for the author, after collecting from Donatus and Quintilian all the allusions to gestures, endeavours to find illustrations of them in the pictures given in the *Album*. The discussion, however, is not very instructive even to us cold Northerners. To put the forefinger to the forehead in cogitation, to hold it up in instruction or admonition, to

join the thumb and forefinger in putting a pointed argument, are not remarkable symptoms of vivacity.

The *Album Terentianum* is a reproduction by lithography of the pictures which are drawn in two Terentian manuscripts. There are in all twelve illustrated manuscripts of Terence which are derived, through three distinct copies, from an archetype of the second century. This date is determined chiefly by the fact that many of the actors are depicted in masks, whereas by the time of Donatus (4th cent.) masks were no longer worn. Mr. van Wageningen's drawings are copied chiefly from *Ambrosianus* H 75 (F), but, where this is defective, from *Parisinus* 7899 (P). The former has black outlines filled in with red and blue colours (not here reproduced): the latter has outlines and shading only. There is not much to choose between them in execution, but the artist of *Parisinus* occasionally shows boldness of style both with the pen and the brush. In these drawings, all the actors have masks except those who represent women or young men: the men (except the soldiers in *Eunuchus*) wear a sleeved tunic reaching nearly to the ankles and a pallium: the women wear a longer tunic and a pallium: the only person who wears a hat is Thraso: the parasite in *Eunuchus* carries a huge *strigil*, but no *ampulla*. The doorways in *Adelphi* bear some resemblance to real doorways, but in the other plays they are represented by two props and a cross-piece with a curtain thrown over it. The law-book in *Phormio* is not a roll but a large *codex*. The gestures depicted are such as I have mentioned above.

J. Gow.

SHORT NOTICES

Die griechische Skulptur von Reinhard Kekule von Stradonitz [Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin]. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906. 8" x 5½". Pp. 383. 155 Text Illustrations. M. 4.50 unbound, M. 5 bound.

It is open to question whether it is altogether to the reader's advantage that guide-books to antiquities in particular Museums should be enlarged into hand-books dealing with a branch of archaeology in a general way. The visitor to the Museum is apt to find it

difficult to make practical use of such books, and to obtain the particular information he requires. The general reader on the other hand is rather wearied by the iteration of (to him) meaningless numbers. The plan of this little book is to describe a particular epoch in the history of Greek Sculpture in one or two preliminary chapters, and then to deal with the sculptures in the Berlin galleries, which belong to the epoch in question. The plan has the undeniable advantage of placing the sculptures of the Museum in their proper historical setting. Thus the description of the archaic sculptures in Berlin is preceded by an illustrated sketch of archaic Greek art in Attica, the East, the Peloponnese, and the West; that of the sculptures of the fifth century B.C. by chapters on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Parthenon, and the frieze of the temple at Phigaleia, and so on. The illustrations vary greatly in merit. Some, such as the stèle of Aristion (p. 14) are excellent; others, e.g. the Nikè from Delos (p. 26), are very poor. In one instance (No. 739, p. 180) one of the figures described as existing on the relief has to be regarded with the eye of faith, being presumably concealed in the inky blackness. Despite drawbacks such as those mentioned the book may be recommended as clear and trustworthy to those who wish to know how far the Greek sculptures in Berlin form a representative series. The want of an index is severely felt.

F. H. M.

The Meditations of M. Aurelius Antoninus. Translated by J. JACKSON. With an Introduction by CHARLES BIGG. Oxford, 1906. Pp. 240. 3s. 6d. net.

M. AURELIUS has appeared more than once, I think, recently in the form of a cheap English classic. Now we have another new translation, commendably accurate and very readable as far as the nature of the original allows. This reservation must be made, because the austerity, elevation, and frequent obscurity of the book remove it from anything like really popular reading. Mr. Jackson's version, like that of Dr. Rendall, is the work of a scholar, and it is a striking testimony to the high place which the original still holds that he should have been thus retranslated into English twice within ten years, and

that by very competent hands. In some respects the new version is only too readable, for much of the awkwardness and uncouthness of the Greek has been dropped. Possibly it would have been pedantic carefully to reproduce it all, and no doubt the English is pleasanter without it. But it must be said that Mr. Jackson's facile and agreeable turns of phrase often give no idea of the real style in which the emperor wrote. In Book I more particularly, where the long list of obligations to various persons is set forth in the most monotonous matter of fact way, like a ledger account in which all the items take the same sort of form, and where the vocabulary is at the same time peculiarly cumbrous and stiff, the English is as simple and as various as though it were a version, say, of Plato. In the later books, written in a less ponderous and more telling way, Mr. Jackson's easy English is not so far from the original. But does not the use of 'thou' and 'thy' throughout give a wrong character to the language? Dr. Bigg prefixes to the book fifty pages of introduction on the life and character of M. Aurelius, the nature of the book, and the character of Stoicism. He finds Aurelius 'the most tragic figure in history,' yet takes him on the whole less seriously than he took himself, and, with considerable admiration, points out very clearly certain defects belonging to the book, the system, and the man.

H. R.

Andocides Orationes. By F. BLASS. Editio tertia. Teubner, 1906. Pp. xiv + 124. M. 1.40.

WHEN we compare this new edition with its predecessor, we see that on the first and second speeches the critical notes are noticeably reduced in amount, but that those on the third and fourth are considerably augmented. The reason for this as regards the former is that the editor had come to regard the minor MSS. as simply taken from the Laurentian, and the Laurentian itself as taken from the *Crippsianus*, so that no independent value attached to their readings. The notes on these speeches therefore consist now mainly of references to the work of modern scholars. But for the last two Blass has profited by Lipsius' collation of the Ambrosian *codex*, and full information is given as to its readings, making altogether more in amount than the matter omitted. Blass regards the *Ambrosianus* as inferior, but not much inferior, to the *Crippsianus*. It has more mistakes, but at the same time it often corrects the other.

Full use seems to have been made throughout of such books and articles as have appeared since the last edition. It was not to be expected that either this or the editor's own reflection would make much difference now to the text of Andocides, but every care seems to have been taken. Blass worked so thoroughly and assiduously, with such wide knowledge of Greek and such soundness of judgment, that his premature death—for he was hardly to be called old—is a very serious loss to our studies. He was most generous too in the help he gave to English scholars, and we may well join Germany in regretting a man so capable and so distinguished.

H. R.

OBITUARY

MINTON WARREN.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Died, November 26, 1907.

By Professor Warren's death America has lost her foremost Latin scholar. Ill health, the result of over-study in the earlier part of his career, prevented him from writing much, and the great work of his life, a critical edition of Terence, remains unfinished. Still his occasional articles in the *American Journal of Philology*, the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, not to mention a few contributions to this *Review*, shewed that he had fulfilled the hopes raised by his first publications on 'Enclitic NE in Early Latin,'¹ and on the 'St. Gall Glossary,'² and had become one of the leading Latinists of his time. Of his early life I quote these details from the *Harvard Magazine* of January of this year:—

'A descendant of Richard Warren, one of the *Mayflower* company, he was an American to the core. He was born at Pawtucket, R.I., on January 29, 1850, the son of Samuel Sprague Warren (who survives him), and Ann Elizabeth (Caswell) Warren. His earliest education was received in his native town, and in the neighbouring city of Providence, from the high school of which he entered Tufts College, graduating there in 1870. Yale College had very recently established a graduate department, where such men as W. D. Whitney, James Hadley, and Thomas A. Thacher gave advanced instruction in Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin respectively. Thither came young Warren and studied with these scholars throughout the academic year 1871-72, winning their

admiration for his unusual scholarly qualities. In the autumn of 1872 he became classical master in the high school at Medford, Mass., and a year later was called to the principalship of the large and important school of Waltham in the same State, where for three years he shewed remarkable gifts as scholar and teacher, as well as exceptional skill as administrator. His earnings in these three years of teaching enabled him in 1876 to go to Germany—where ambitious students used to go in those years, before the establishment of graduate schools in the United States—for advanced work in comparative philology, in Greek, and especially in the Latin language and literature, the part of the field of classical studies that had long attracted him.'

Latin study in Germany at the time was in the 'afterglow' of Ritschl's inspiration. The text of Plautus and Terence, the Republican Inscriptions, the relics of early Latin preserved in mediaeval Glossaries, these were the studies which Ritschl had left as a heritage to his pupils, from one of whom, Professor Goetz, Warren caught up the enthusiasm that was to impel his whole life. His edition of the St. Gall Glossary has been already mentioned as one of his earliest works; his last piece of writing was an interpretation of the oldest Latin inscription, the Forum stele. But his chief occupation from his College-days in Germany until his death was the collection of materials for a large edition of Terence, which should take the place of Umpfenbach's standard work. In this 'opus magnum' he was latterly associated with Prof. Hauler of Vienna, and with Prof. Kauer of the same university. I cannot help thinking, as I write these lines, of my last conversation with him, in the Engadine

¹ His dissertation for a degree at Strassburg, 1879, reprinted in *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, 1881.

² 'On Latin Glossaries, with especial reference to the Codex Sangallensis 912,' Cambridge [U.S.A.], 1885.

in the Summer of 1906, when he hinted at his fears that he might not live to see the completion of his task.

Still, a scholar's work lies in teaching as well as in writing; and it was to teaching that Professor Warren devoted all his energy. On his return from Germany he was appointed to the responsible post of Latin Professor at the newly-founded centre of research, the Johns Hopkins University. In 1896-97, he was director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, where, by a happy coincidence, Professor Kauer was engaged in his re-collation of the Bembine Terence in the Vatican Library. In 1899 he was called to

the University of Harvard. At all three places, Baltimore, Rome, and Boston, his success in teaching advanced students was equalled only by the affection with which his pupils regarded him. As his Harvard colleague, Prof. Wright, has said of him, 'no American Latinist can point to a larger number than could he of able and productive scholars in his own field, who, if not members of his "school," at least owed to him their inspiration and their method.' He married in 1885 Miss Salomé A. Machado of Salem, Mass., who, with a son and a daughter, survives him.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ALFRED PRETOR.

DIED at Wyke, near Weymouth, on January 8, Alfred Pretor, formerly head boy of Harrow, scholar of Trinity College, and for thirty-five years fellow of S. Catharine's College.

Amongst the instructors of his youth may be mentioned the names of C. J. Vaughan, B. F. Westcott, J. B. Lightfoot, and F. A. Paley, with all of whom he maintained to the last an unbroken friendship.

He was a sound scholar of the old type, a ready composer, fluent translator, and stimulating teacher. His chief works were editions of *Persius* (a second edition in 1907), Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *Cicero ad Atticum* I and II, and 'Exercises in Translation at sight.' As a writer of short stories he was singularly successful.

A. W. S.

REPORTS

GRAVES NEAR 'WAR DITCHES,' CHERRY-HINTON, CAMBRIDGE.

DURING the spring of 1907, at the instance of Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, three skeletons were disinterred, by the writer, from graves outside the 'War Ditches,' which lie on a spur of the Gog-Magog Hills at Cherryhinton.

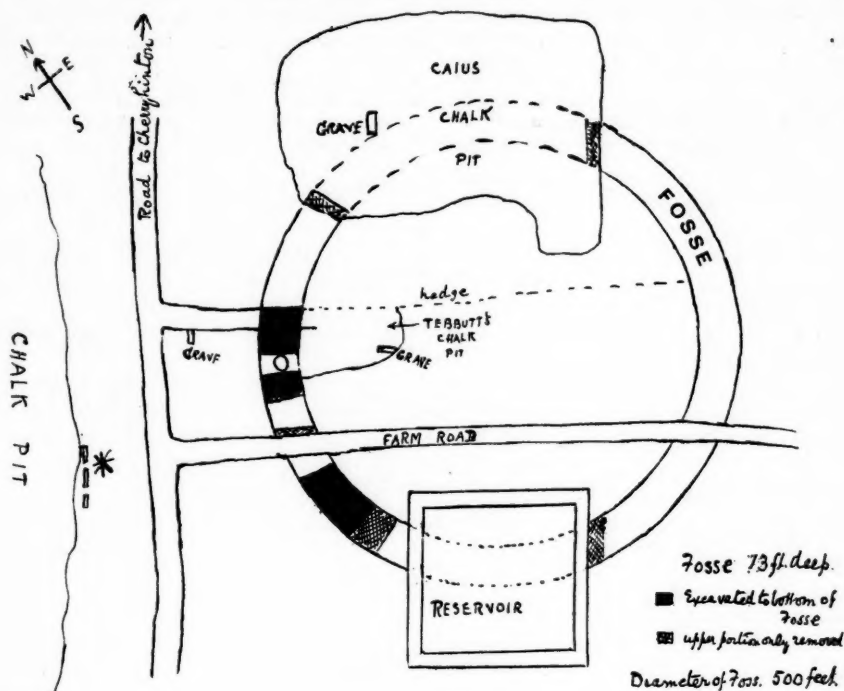
The graves, which had rounded ends, were hollowed out of the disintegrated chalk; the bottom of each grave was 3 ft. below grass level.

The three skeletons were pronounced by Prof. Macalister and Dr. Duckworth to be of the Pre-Roman East-Anglian type like many that were discovered in 1903 by Prof. Hughes, near, and in, the 'War Ditches.'

The chief interest lies in grave No. 1. Within the crook of the right arm of the skeleton was found a small, but complete, Roman pot, thus:—



5 in. in height and 4 in. in diameter across the rim. It contained only chalk rubble. No coins or metal were found with these skeletons



Graves at * on enlarged scale.

No. II.



Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 ft.

Grave 5' 6" long.
1' 8" wide.
Skeleton 5' long.
Lying on side.
Head resting on right hand.
Left hand under chin.

No. I.



Grave 6' 3" long.
1' 9" wide.
Skeleton 5' 10" long.
Lying on back.
Roman pot within.
Crook of right arm.

No. III.



Grave 5' long.
13" wide.
Skeleton 4' 9" long.
Lying face downwards.

F. G. WALKER.

ROMAN TUMULUS AT LORD'S BRIDGE, HARLTON, NEAR CAMBRIDGE.

DURING August, 1907, the writer excavated a Roman Tumulus near Lord's Bridge Railway station, Cambs. Greatest length of Tumulus, 48 ft. ; 24 ft. ; 8 ft. 6 in. The stone coffin, the top of which was 2 ft. below ground level, measured 7 ft. 1 in. in length ; 2 ft. in width ; 1 ft. 3 in. in depth. It was made of oolite rock, probably from Barnack, and contained the

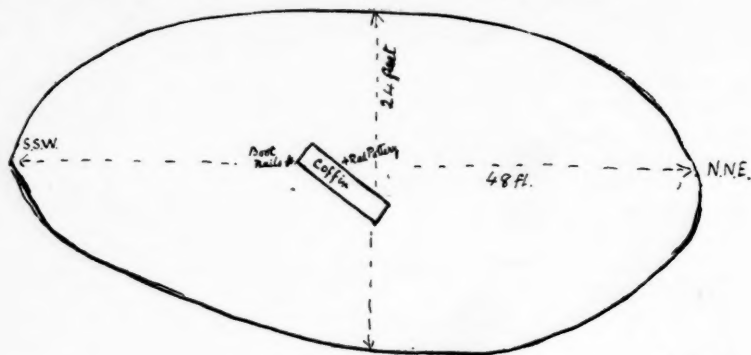
skeleton of a woman aged about 23. In the coffin were two bone pins, thus :—



3½ in. in length, a quantity of coarse fragments of

pottery which had been placed to protect the head, there being no lid to the coffin. Also in the coffin were the bones of a cock and a goose, probably pets of the girl. Some reddish coloured pottery (broken) was found within a foot of the coffin, while touching one end of it were 27 boot nails. Pottery, pins and nails were Roman. Sixty years ago a Roman Villa was

discovered exactly half a mile from this Tumulus. Roman coins and a very fine bronze pin have been found by the writer in the near neighbourhood, as well as numerous fragments of pottery which lie scattered over the fields. This all points to an extensive occupation of the Bourne Brook Valley during the Roman rule in England.



F. G. WALKER.

VERSION

FROM SHELLEY'S 'WITCH OF ATLAS.'

Which when the lady knew, she took her
spindle

And twined three threads of fleecy mist,
and three

Long lines of light, such as the dawn may
kindle

The clouds and waves and mountains with,
and she

As many star-beams, ere their lamps could
dwindle

In the belated moon, wound skilfully;
And with these threads a subtle veil she
wove—

A shadow for the splendour of her love.

The deep recesses of her odorous dwelling

Were stored with magic treasures—sounds
of air,

Which had the power all spirits of
compelling,

Folded in cells of crystal silence there;

Such as we hear in youth, and think the
feeling

Haec ubi nota, capit dea sollertissima
fusum;

Tres nebulae radios niueae, tria longa nitoris
Fila trahit, quo saepe rubens Aurora re-
cludit

Aequora nubiferumque polum montesque
supinos;

Dein luce astrorum totidem, quam tarda
Dianae

Fax hebetem lato nondum deprnderat igni,
Miscet opus; talique suae mirabile textu

Dat radians formae et nimio uelamen amoris.
Sedis odoratae cumulauerat intima miro

Thesauro, sonitusque aeterno ex aere pactos,
Unde animas urgendi hominum diuomque
potestas,

Condebant positis sua quemque silentia uasis;
Qualia nos quondam teneris audiuius annis

Murmura, nec fugitura rati dulcedine tanta
Laetabamur, at heu! subito laetantibus
omnis

Dulcedo periit, perierunt murmura, mansit
Solus amor frustra desideriumque petendi.

Will never die—yet ere we are aware,
The feeling and the sound are fled and
gone,

And the regret they leave remains alone.

* * * *

And liquors clear and sweet, whose
healthful might

Could medicine the sick soul to happy
sleep,

And change eternal death into a night

Of glorious dreams—or if eyes needs
must weep,

Could make their tears all wonder and
delight,

She in her crystal vials did closely keep:

If men could drink of those clear vials, 'tis
said

The living were not envied of the dead.

Hic eadem claros suauissima dona
liquores

Seruat, quibus usa animas mortalibus
aegris

Securas poterat somno mulcere salubri,

Vel noctem dare perpetua pro morte
quietam

Splendentem uisis, uel si qui ponere
fletus

Nescierant, lacrimas miranda in gaudia
uertens

Dedocuit luctum. Haec uitreis dea saga
lagenis

Tuta habuit; quibus humano, sic fama,
labello

Si liceat sedare sitim, iam uiuere temnant

Nec lucem exoptent missi sub Tartara
manes.

J. M. EDMONDS.

Repton.

ARCHAEOLOGY

MONTHLY RECORD.

Boeotia.—In September of last year Professor Burrows, with the help of a grant from the Oxford Craven Fund, excavated a series of Hellenic tombs at Rhitsona, on the site of Mycalessos. The finds consisted mainly of vases and terracottas; among the former were an early cup with a parody of a fight between Heracles and an Amazon in the best red-figure style, and a black *cantharos* with a new polychrome painting on a white slip. The statuettes also showed brilliant colours, which have been preserved by the process of stereochromatising. Besides the artistic interest of the finds, valuable evidence was given of the comparative dates of early pottery; the fabric of Boeotian Geometric, for example, being observed with black- and even red-figured vases of the later sixth century, whereas it was formerly assigned to the seventh or eighth. The predominantly early date of the tombs agrees with what is known of the political condition of Mycalessos in its geographical dependence upon Chalcis, and

its consequent decline with the rise of Athens.¹

Egypt.—At Mit Rahine, the ancient Memphis, about sixty plaster models of designs for decoration of metal cups and dishes have been found. Two have as *emblemata* busts of Athena of early style; one of them with an unusual double border of palmettes and flying ducks (an Egyptian motive), which is drawn close round the central figure. Another early piece shows a remarkably fine portrait of the first Ptolemy, while perhaps the best of all is an exquisite figure of a seated seamstress. Among the figure subjects are several Victories, an Europa riding on the Bull, a Medusa head, and some smaller Ptolemy portraits. The purely decorative compositions are particularly well represented. While most of these examples are of early Hellenistic date, an inscription which occurs on one of them is assigned to a

¹ *Athenaeum*, Nov. 23, 1907.

later period, and it seems likely that the whole series is rather a collection of casts than of original designs by the silversmith in whose shop they were found. They are soon to be presented to the Museum at Hildesheim and

a complete account of the find will then be published.¹

E. J. FORSDYKE

The British Museum.

¹ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1907, 3.

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